1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867
773
776

powers that the creator gave them. So it will be. Earthmaker made it thus.

867
756

My son, you must fast. If you breathe upon sick people," I mean if you are blessed with that kind of power, you will be able to restore people to health. You will be of help to your people. If you can, in addition, draw out the pain from within the body of an individual, you will indeed be a help to your people. They will respect you. You will not even have to work for all your necessities, for those whom you treat will cheerfully support you as long as you live. If you should die, your name will be held in great respect and people will frequently talk about you. Ah, that man he had indeed great power!

867
787
756

My son, if you are not able to fast," try at least to obtain some plants that are powerful. There are people who know the qualities of the different plants, who have been blessed by the spirits with this knowledge. It is pitiable enough that you could obtain nothing through fasting, so ask those that are in possession of these plants at least to have pity upon you. If they have pity upon you, they will bless you with one of the plants they possess, and you will thus have something to help you in life and to encourage you. One plant will not be enough. Of all the plants that cover the earth and lie like a fringe of hair upon the body of our grandmother, try and obtain knowledge of these, that you may be strengthened in life. Then you will have reason to feel encouraged. A real medicine man has even more justification for feeling encouraged than an ordinary one, because such a one has been blessed with life by the Water-spirits. If, therefore, you wish to obtain the real powers of curing people, so that you will have the power of making them arise from their sick beds, you must long and patiently wait and labor. If, however, you obtain the true powers – that is, if you obtain blessings from the Water-spirits – then some day, when your children are in need of medicine, you will not have to go and look for a medicine man, but you will only have to look into your medicine bundle. Whatever trouble your children have you will be able to cure it. Should anything be the matter with the people of your tribe they will call upon you. You can then open your medicine bundle and the individual who is wanting in life will be benefited from the stock of medicines

[753
755]

[425]

" Sickness is due to the presence of some object within the body. Illness can therefore only be cured if this object is extracted. This is generally accomplished by the shaman sucking it out through a bone tube. Among the Winnebago the shaman before applying the tube spirits some water upon the afflicted person and breathes upon him. This is what the "breathing" refers to.

" Not everyone who fasts is blessed with power. For those who are thus unable to obtain blessings directly from the spirits there is only one method of protection against evils left: the purchase of plants with magical properties from those who have been blessed with them. These can be obtained by any individual no matter how unsuccessful he has been in obtaining blessings through personal fasting. All that is needed is sufficient riches for purchasing them. Of course it goes without saying that those who have been blessed with power may and do also provide themselves with these medicines.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [182] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, 224] and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

CHAPTER X

SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

Introduction

756 [171] The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 754 [187] The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines: Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[182] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.

[189] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana"teere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.* J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

763 of prey hovering around the hill and he felt certain that they were there so that they could devour him as soon as he was dead. How-
825 ever, the birds told him they had come to cure not to devour him.
755 Many carnivorous birds and many wolves were there. The turtle
756 also came because he was the owner of some medicines.

Then the animals who had gathered on the hill began to doctor him. The raven began first. He ejaculated *e-he-al e-he-al* gave him some medicine and began to exert his powers until he felt better. Then the wolf began. He walked around ejaculating certain sounds and spitting medicine on him. The man became much better. He was almost completely restored to health. Then the turtle began to exert his powers, ejaculating at the same time *ahil ahil ahil ahil* and walking around the man and giving him some boiled medicine to drink. Now he was almost entirely cured. Finally a black hawk began to doctor the man. He put some medicine on the place where the man's pains seemed to be situated and he was immediately cured. Then all those who had cured him said, "Human! In a similar way you shall cure your fellowmen." They then gave him as much medicine as he would need. The raven gave him his "medicine chest," consisting of a flute and a gourd. With these things he blessed him. He also gave him a song which he was to sing. Then the wolf gave him his medicine chest, consisting of a gourd and a flute, and told him that he would not fail to cure any sick person he treated and that if the sick people offered the proper amount of tobacco, red eagle feathers, and food, no matter how serious their disease was he would be able to cure it. Then he told the man that Earthmaker had placed him in charge of these things and that he in turn would bless him with them for all eternity. As long as any of his posterity was left they would enjoy the benefit of these blessings.

825 And this is true, for even to the present day his descendants use
756 this medicine.

Then Black Hawk said, "I, also, bless you. Earthmaker placed me
[782] in charge of some medicines and with these I bless you. If you are careful in offering tobacco and food to these medicines they will always help you to the utmost of their power. Whatever you ask they will accomplish for you. They will be able to understand you. So, if anyone is sick, you will be able to help him. In this way I bless you. If you are ever in any difficulty, think of me and I will help you." (What he meant is that if he ever was in any difficulty, he should think of the medicines with which Black Hawk had blessed him, and that that would be the same as if he thought of him.)

Then the Buffalo said, "My grandson, Earthmaker placed me in charge of certain medicines. Why should you then wish to die? Your condition is 'pitiable,' and therefore I want to bless you.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

All those spirits whom Earthmaker made with his own hands were placed in charge of certain things. All these spirits have had compassion upon you. All those whom Earthmaker created as holy have blessed you. Earthmaker has placed me in charge of certain medicines and I am so completely in control of these that I can do what I please with them. There exist no beings either on the earth or under the earth whom I can not cure. With all these do I bless you. All your previous blessings were from spirits who live either on earth or in the heavens.' The medicinal plants I bless you with are called Buffalo medicines. The other medicines are called 'stench-earth medicines.' As long as you and your descendants live these medicines will be efficacious. The owners of the stench-earth medicines they will be called. In this manner I bless you."

Then the hitcara said, "I bless you with those things that Earthmaker placed me in charge of. I was created by Earthmaker. Medicines, grass, trees, and bushes (for use in the making of medicines), with these I bless you. I bless you with my utterance. With my mouth, I bless you. If a human is suffering and places tobacco in your hands, then you may mention my name and pour a pipeful of tobacco into the fire. I will grant whatever you request. All the medicinal plants with which I bless you shall belong to you and your descendants as long as the earth endures. Your children can use them, and they will protect them. If any part of their body is weak from disease they can heal themselves with them. Many things will you gain through these medicines. You may also eat them. Human! you have dreamed, not only for yourself but for all your descendants. As long as this earth endures, so long will your descendants use these medicines with which I have blessed you. In this way I bless you."

Then the wildcat said, "Grandson, Earthmaker placed me in control of medicines also. I bless you. The other spirits have blessed you with certain medicines, and to these I now add my own. I can not tell you anything about the heavenly blessings. The spirits above have already bestowed these upon you. I will, however, tell you this: There is nothing either upon this earth or under it that I can not accomplish. I bless you with the power to do the same. With the blessings I give you, you will be able to accomplish anything you wish whenever you put these medicines to use. If a person were dying, and his relatives offered tobacco and food to you, you would be able to cure him. When you use my name, concentrate your mind upon me, and offer me tobacco. If I smoke the tobacco you will then know that your request has been granted. All the medical plants that I am giving to you, all the herbs that I am blessing you with, to all these, make an offering of tobacco. Whatever you ask they will grant you. All the animals that tread upon the air, all those

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

825
●756 on the earth, have medicines that you are to use on earth. Whatever you say on earth it will be so. You have been blessed with all the things that are on and under the earth."

All the fowls and insects of the air, all the beings that have wings, blessed him and gave him medicines, which he was to mix with other medicines. He was told to make use of all the insects of the earth and air, some of which we never see. All those who live on earth, all the fishes in the water, and all the different kinds of water-spirits blessed him with medicines. He was blessed with, and told to use as medicines, all those plants that live in the water. He was blessed with the leech, one of the animals that lives in the water, and he was to use it in medicine mixing. They say that it is good to mix the leech with other medicines to relieve pain. He was blessed with all the trees, that we see to-day, which he was to use as medicines. Their bark, leaves, and roots are considered very good for such purposes. He was blessed also with all the small undergrowth, whose leaves, bark, inner bark, blossoms, and roots he was to use for medicine. He was blessed with all the weeds, and he was to use their heads and leaves for medicine, but their roots were to be used for other purposes.

Thus all the different kinds of plants that grow on this earth blessed him. The earth also blessed him and said to him, "Grandson, as the other spirits are blessing you, I, also, will bless you. Earthmaker has placed me here, and I therefore bless you with all plants that grow upon me, and all the trees and woods and animals that exist on this earth, and lastly, with life and myself (i. e., earth). You may use me, and especially the blue clay that you derive from me, for medicines. Should you use as medicine all these things with which I have blessed you, especially if you use me, as medicine, you will be able to accomplish all that you attempt.

"If a person who is sick offers you tobacco (i. e., asks you to cure him), remember that I also would like to smoke and that it is for that reason that I have blessed you."[1]

[826] Birds, especially eagles, are used in the making of medicines. The entire body of a raven, including the heart and brains, are used, and also the following snakes: The gray snake, the black snake, the blue snake, the yellow snake, the bull snake, and the snake that breaks itself in two. The rattlesnake is used in a mixture given to women when in labor. If a woman hurts herself during pregnancy and kills the child within her womb, she can be made to deliver the embryo if she uses the medicine mentioned above.

[844 278 845]

[776 782]

[1] According to general belief the spirits are supposed to have entered into a sort of "bargain" with the human beings by which they were to bestow their blessings upon them in exchange for tobacco, buckskin, and feathers. Of course, it must be understood that individuals must have the necessary requirements, such as a certain attitude of mind, fasting, etc., before their offering of tobacco has any meaning to the spirits.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Toads are used, but only for poison medicines. The quail's heart is used for the same purpose. If a person is killed outright, his heart is used as a medicine, as the human heart is regarded as having great efficacy in such medicines. It is used in war, for compelling people to give you presents, and for courting women. The bear likewise is used for a variety of purposes. Its liver is especially powerful. It is rubbed over the body whenever in pain. It is often used by women who have injured themselves in childbirth, or in the form of tonics, poultices, and emetic; or for toothaches, bathing sore eyes, earaches, headaches; as snuff, as a physic, for burns, strictures, boils, hemorrhages, injections in the rectum, consumption, measles, dysentery, chills, nosebleed, pains in the stomach, and headaches caused by poisoning. 825 756 826 [757]

Sometimes a woman would take a hair of her husband and stick it into some bad medicine. In such a case he would never leave her for he would become very much enamored of her. If ever she went away, he would miss her very much. However, he always had a headache. Finally he would get sick and lose his appetite and then his eyesight. That is why it is forbidden to use this medicine, although some still do it. 832

Many Winnebago are blind, because there is a medicine that causes blindness. If one person offends another who possesses such a medicine, the latter would cause the offender to become blind. 754

The Winnebago have medicines for every purpose; for courting, for becoming rich, for obtaining good looks, etc. Even if a person is very holy, these poisoners can poison him. If a man was a good hunter or if he was wise and good, these bad shamans would poison him. If an individual was a great medicine man and these bad shamans got jealous, they would poison him. Indeed, only if a person was poor and lowly would they like him. Such a man they would never poison for they had no reason for being jealous of him. A bad shaman is always treated with the greatest respect and honor, because he kills many people. [832]

A warrior is also greatly respected and flattered. It is the Indian's greatest desire to become a warrior. All desire that, and they also wish to become great medicine men and bad shamans. 554 156 [756]

This is the way they prepare and use their courting medicines. The courting medicine known to me is a plant of apparently two varieties, one of which has a blue blossom and the other no blossom at all. Otherwise they are alike. The one with the blue blossom is the male and the one without the blossom is the female. When I go out to dig this plant, I do not dig for these two specimens unless I can find them growing together closely. Even then I do not dig any two specimens unless the male is found growing on the east side. For that reason it is very hard to find them. As soon as I find two that 832 278 [824]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

832 278 fulfill all the conditions I dig them out and mix them together with their own roots. Then I take the blossom of the male and mix it together with the center leaf of the female flower. After that both are ground together thoroughly. Then I go to the woman I wish to court and, at night, when she is asleep, I touch first any part of her body, then a place not far from her heart, and finally the top of her head with this mixture. Finally I make her smell it. I then wake her up and go home. The girl will wonder who had touched her and she will think a good deal about the incident and never forget it. The next time I see her she will like me and she will do whatever I ask of her. The medicine would be working. If I did not see her for a long time, she would get lonesome, and the only thing that would cure her would be to marry me.

There is another medicine which I am now going to describe. When it first sprouts, which is in the spring, it is quite white. This must be taken and dried. Then one must chew it and go near the woman with whom one desires to talk. Approach her on the side from which the wind is blowing so that she can smell the medicine. As soon as she smells it, even although the man chewing it is one whom she has hitherto disliked, she will get to like him. This is the way in which the medicine works.

755 [752] A man who was blessed was told of all these things. He cured all diseases. If a person had been shot and one blessed with the stench-earth medicine was called, he could be cured. In the same manner, if one is stabbed in what would generally be considered a fatal way and if a man blessed with stench-earth was called in time he would save him. The same cure is effected in cases of broken arms and of [752] patients who are on the point of death. It is for this reason that those blessed with the stench-earth medicines are always praised, and that the people say "They surely are in charge of life; for their blessings really come from the spirits, just as they claim."[1]

● 756 [754] [The "stench-earth" medicine men could undoubtedly cure the sick, but they also used it to poison people. The courting medicine was a poison medicine, and therefore it was not good. These people cured the body, but they killed the soul. It would have been much better had they saved their souls. They were really working for the devil. It is from him that they got all the bad medicines. Whenever they were offended, they would go and get poisons to kill the offender. Thus the devil[2] was really causing them to kill their own souls and the souls of those they poisoned. It is the same with all

754 774

[1] The following portion in brackets is the comment of our informant, who is a member of the Peyote sect.

[2] Although he really means the Christian devil many of the traits of the old Winnebago deity Hereguʻnina, the chief of the bad spirits, are clearly discernible.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed. 734

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body. 778 726 789

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed to hunting could kill game easily if they used it. 778 224

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a 756 ● 756 796 [264]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 796 [264] small piece of a root and tell him to chew and eat it. This the guest would have to do, and from that time on he would never know when he had had enough to eat. He would never get satiated. Whenever the man who had been blessed gave the feast personally, no one was ever known to leave anything upon his plate. While eating the guests kept time. They never shook their plates, for if anyone did so the others would immediately give him whatever remained on their plates. They would assume that anyone who shook his plate was the possessor of the stench-earth himself and that he intended to eat up these extra portions with the aid of this medicine. If, however, the shaking was done unintentionally and he failed to eat up the extra portions placed on his plate, then he would make a noise like a raven, and those who wished to help him consume this food would also cry like the raven, approach him, and flap their arms as the birds do their wings. Then all would eat.

When the man who obtained these blessings died, he left all these medicines that he had been the first one to use to another person. With the medicines he of course left all the songs. All that he used to do when he doctored a sick person he bequeathed to his successor. The last man who had these medicines was not a holy man but he knew all their uses and for that reason he was considered a powerful and holy man. To-day only the poison medicines are remembered; the good medicines are all gone.

This is the end.

How an Indian Shaman Cures His Patients*

756 775 539 "I came from above and I am holy. This is my second life on earth. Many years before my present existence, I lived on this earth. At that time everyone seemed to be on the warpath. I also was a warrior, a brave man. Once when I was on the warpath I was killed. It seemed to me, however, as if I had merely stumbled. I rose and went right ahead until I reached my home. At home I found my wife and children, but they would not look at me. Then I spoke to my wife but she seemed to be quite unaware of my presence. 'What can be the matter,' I thought to myself, 'that they pay no attention to me and that they do not even answer when I speak to them.' All at once it occurred to me that I might, in reality, be dead. So I immediately started out for the place where I had presumably been killed and surely enough, there I saw my body. Then I knew positively that I had been killed. I tried to return to the place where I had lived as a human being but for four years I was unsuccessful.

[825] "At one time I became transformed into a fish. However, the life of the fish is much worse than ours. They are very frequently

* The shaman is represented as in the lodge of the patient and as speaking to him and his relatives

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

in lack of food. They are nevertheless very happy beings and have many dances.[a]

At another time I became transformed into a little bird. When the weather is good the life of the birds is very pleasant. But when it is cold they are compelled to undergo many hardships on account of the weather as well as on account of lack of food. When it was very cold I used to go to the camp of some people who were living in the neighborhood and try to steal some meat from their racks. A little boy used to stand near these racks and we were very much afraid of him because he carried something in his hands with which he shot and which made a dreadful noise. Whenever he shot it we would all fly away. What the boy was using was a bow and arrow. At night we slept in a hollow tree. If I entered the tree first and the others came in behind me I would be almost squeezed to death. If, on the other hand, I waited until the last I would sometimes have to stay outside and when the weather was cold I might have frozen to death.

At another time I became a buffalo. The cold weather and the food did not worry me much then, but as buffaloes, we would always have to be on the alert for hunters.

From my buffalo existence I was permitted to go to my higher spirit-home, from which I originally came. The one in charge of that spirit-home is my grandfather. I asked him for permission to return to this earth again. At first he refused, but then after I had asked him for the fourth time, he consented. He said to me, 'Grandson, you had better fast before you go and if any of the spirits take pity upon you (i. e., bless you), you may go and live in peace upon earth.' So I fasted for four years and all the spirits above, even to the fourth heaven,[b] approved of my coming. They blessed me. Then I fasted 10 days more and then 20 and then 30. Finally all the spirits blessed me, even those under the earth. When I was ready to come to this earth, the spirits gathered together in a council-lodge and 'counciled' about me. All the spirits were present. They told me that I would never fail in anything that I wished to do. Then they decided to make a trial of my powers. They placed an invulnerable spirit-grizzly bear at one end of the lodge and sang the songs that I was to use when I returned to earth. Then I walked around the lodge holding a live coal in the palm of my hand and danced around the fireplace saying *wahi-!* and striking the hand containing the coal with my other hand. The invulnerable bear fell forward prone upon the ground and a black substance flowed

[a] This is commonly postulated of both the life of the fishes and that of the snakes.

[b] He is probably referring to the four earths, although it is, of course, possible that there were four heavens. However, I never obtained the slightest indication of such a belief.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 715 539 from his mouth. Then they said to me, 'You have killed him. Even so great a spirit as this you have been able to kill. Indeed, nothing will ever be able to cross your path.' Then they took the 'bear' I had killed and cut him into small pieces with a knife, piled these in the center of the lodge, and covered them with some dark material. 'Now,' they said, 'you must again try your powers.' I asked them for the articles that I would have to use and they gave me a flute and a gourd. Then I made myself holy. All those who had blessed me were present. I walked around the object that lay piled up in the center of the lodge and breathed upon it. This I did for the second time and all those within the lodge breathed together with me. Four times I did this and then the spirit-grizzly bear got up and walked away in the shape of a human being. 'It is good,' they said. 'He has restored him to life again. Surely he is holy.' After a while they said to me again, 'Just as you have done here, will you always do below. Whenever you wish to, you will be able to kill a person or restore him to life. Most assuredly you have been blessed.'

"Then they placed a black stone in the shamans' lodge that stood above. There again they made a trial of my powers. There I blew four times on the stone and I blew a hole through it. For that reason, if any person has a pain and he lets me blow upon it, I can blow it away. It makes no difference what kind of a pain it is. My breath was made holy by the spirits.

"The spirits on the earth and those under the earth also gave me a trial of my powers. They placed an old rotten log before me. I breathed upon it four times, and spat water upon it and it got up in the shape of a human being and walked away.

"My ability to spit water upon the people whom I am treating I received from an eel; from the chief among the eels, one who lives in the center and in the deepest part of the ocean. He is absolutely white and he is the one who blessed me. Whenever I spit water it is inexhaustible, because it comes from him, the eel.

"Then I came to this earth again. They, the spirits, all gave me advice before I left them. When I came upon this earth I entered a lodge and there I was born again. As I said, I thought that I was entering a lodge, but in reality I was entering my mother's womb. Even in my prenatal existence, I never lost consciousness. Then I grew up and fasted again and again, and all those spirits who had blessed me before sent me their blessings again. I can dictate to all the spirits that exist. Whatever I say will come to pass. The [782] tobacco you (the patients) offer me is not to be used by myself. It is really intended for the spirits.

"Spirits, a person is sick and he offers me tobacco. I am on earth to accept it and to try to cure him.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

"To you, grandmother, the Earth, I too offer tobacco. You blessed me and promised to help me whenever I needed you. You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. Those herbs I ask of you now, and I ask you to help me cure this sick person. Make my medicine powerful, grandmother. 755 782 776 539

"To you, Chief of the Spirits, I offer tobacco. You who blessed me and said that you would help me. I offer you tobacco and ask you to let this sick person live, and if his spirit is about to depart, I ask you to prevent it.

"I offer tobacco to all of you who have blessed me."

Then the shaman blew upon his flute, breathed upon the sick man and sang four times. Then he walked around the lodge and spat water upon the patient. After this he sang four times and stopped. The spirits would now let him know whether the patient was to live or die.

In this manner a shaman treats his patients for four days, and after that takes his offerings and goes away. If the sick person happens to recover, the shaman would tell him that he would never be sick again.

Thundercloud's Fasting Experience

Then he (Thundercloud) told of his fasting experience. "At the very beginning, those above taught me (the following). A doctor's village existed there; and all the various spirits that lived up in the clouds came after me, and instructed me in what I was to do. In the beginning they taught me, and did the following for me. 'Human, let us try it,' they said to me. There, in the middle of the lodge, lay a dead, rottening log, almost completely covered with weeds. There they tried to make me treat (the sick person). Then once he breathed, and all those that were in the lodge also breathed; then the second time he breathed, and all breathed with him; then for the third time he breathed; and then for the fourth time he breathed. As a young man he, the dead log, arose and walked away. After the fourth breathing, he arose and walked away. 'Human, very holy he is,' they said to me. 756 776

"There, from the middle of the ocean, they (the spirits) came after me, for there, in the middle of the ocean, is a shamans' village. There they blessed me—as many (spirits) as there are in the middle of the ocean—they all blessed me. There they made me try my power. As many waves as there are, all of them as large as the ocean, they asked me to blow upon; and as I blew upon them, everything became (as quiet) as (water) in a small saucer. So it became. Then I blew for the third time, and again it was that way. The fourth time they made the ocean choppy, and had (the waves) piled

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 one upon the other; and they told me to blow again and show my power.
776 And I blew, and the ocean, mighty as it was, became quiet again.

"'This, human, is the way you will have to do,' they said to me. 'Not anything will there be that you can't accomplish. Whatever illness all (the people) may have, you will be able to cure it,' they told me. All those who are on earth (the spirits) blessed me. 'If any human being who has suffered, pours tobacco for you, then, whatever you demand, that we will do for you,' they said to me. At Blue-Clay-Bank (St. Paul) there is one who is a dancing grizzly-bear (spirit), and there they came and blessed me. If ever I should meet with some great trouble, they would help me, they said. I should pour as much tobacco as I think (necessary) for them, and they will smoke it, they told me. Songs they gave to me; and the power of beholding them, a holy thing, they permitted me, they told me; and their claws, which are holy, they gave to me, they told me. Then the grizzly-bears danced, performing while they danced. Their abdomen they would tear open, and making themselves holy, they would then heal themselves. Then they did it again, and shot bear-claws at each other, and they were badly choking with blood. Then they made themselves holy, and cured themselves. Now, again, they did the following: they made a front paw disappear in the dirt, and after a while they pulled out a prairie-turnip. Then, again, they grabbed a hold of a small plum tree that stood there, and breathed upon it, and shook it, and many plums began to fall.

"Then all sorts of 'shells' they gave. 'All of this, human, we bless you with; and if you do (what we desire), you will obtain (what you desire),' they said. Then he sang, and breathed (upon me), and squirted some water on my chest. 'Very true this is; very holy it is, I believe,' he said. 'You will get well,' he said to me."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

776 782 771 rather high conception was shared by all the Winnebago. Our impression is that many Winnebago believed the offering would be mechanically followed by the blessing. Take, for instance, the following example: A middle-aged Winnebago while hunting was suddenly surprised by the enemy. He succeeded in making his escape into a cave. All hope of final delivery seemed to be gone, for the enemy stationed themselves before the entrance. Now this man had never been blessed in his youth and knew little about the proper procedure to observe when making offerings to the spirits. In this terrible crisis he turned instinctively to the spirits. He took some tobacco and put some in the different nooks of the cave, and said: "Spirits, whoever you are, and wherever you are, it is said that you love tobacco and that in return for it you bless people. Here is some tobacco, and I ask that I may return to my people." There was, as far as we know, no promise made that in return he would make further offerings to them or that he would thereafter love them and honor them. He escaped and unquestionably believed that it was due to the intervention of the spirits, but the spirits were, quite clearly, constrained to act because they had received tobacco.

There can be little doubt that many Winnebago felt as this man did. We find an expression of the same attitude in a myth. The Winnebago are represented as making offerings to the buffalo spirits, and the smoke is ascending to the home of these spirits through a hole in the sky. The younger buffalos can not resist the temptation of approaching the opening to catch a few whiffs of their favorite tobacco. They are thereupon warned by the older buffalos not to go too close, for the tobacco fumes might tempt them too strongly; and should they succumb to the temptation and accept the offerings, they would then have to appear on earth and be killed by man.

776 782 771 As might have been expected, there is in the relation of the spirits to man something similar to the securing of the food animal by some such ceremony as the *wana'kere*. The spirits are dazzled, hypnotized by the offerings, and accept.

825 In the second of the examples given above we were dealing with a food animal—the buffalo. If there is any plausibility in the explanation we advanced before that the Winnebago interprets religion in terms of life, the relation of the spirits to the food supply ought to show it. Now, it is characteristic of the Winnebago religion that the great generalized spirit deities, like Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, etc., have little to do with the securing of specific kinds of food. As a rule, some generalized spirit-animal presides over the various species of animals, and he gladly permits the animals to appear on earth to be killed by man when the proper offerings are made. This seems to have been a secondary interpretation, however, developed probably [756] under the influence of the shamans as a substitute for the purely mechanical attitude mentioned above. To picture the food animals

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

ceremonies as the war-bundle feasts, buffalo dance, sore-eye dance, etc. We will enumerate but a few of them here. 776

The principal deities of the Winnebago are: Earthmaker, Sun, Moon, Earth, Morning Star, Disease-giver, Thunderbird, Water-spirit, etc.

Earthmaker. He is known to the Winnebago under three names: *Ma'una*, earthmaker; *waja'gezera*, he-who-makes-something; and *waxop'ai xetera*, the great spirit. Of these the last is the most archaic, which might imply that originally Earthmaker was merely the great spirit. In the hands of the shamans, to whom the development and elaboration of the great Winnebago ceremonies like the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts were due, he became almost a true monotheistic deity, benevolent but unapproachable. In the older myths, like the trickster and hero cycles (cf. for instance, the *wak'djuk'aga* and hare-cycle), he is hardly mentioned except as a clear afterthought. In another cycle, like that of the twins, where he is definitely mentioned, he is treated like a spirit similar to the other spirits, although superior to them, but in no way resembling the benevolent deity that we find in the origin myth of the medicine dance (p. 350). How and when this development took place, and whether the introduction of Christianity had anything to do with it, it is difficult to say. All indications seem to be overwhelmingly against the latter assumption, although it can not be entirely dismissed. As we have indicated in a previous paper,[1] there appears to have been a well-developed pre-Columbian belief in a good and bad spirit among the woodland Indians. The Winnebago shared in this belief and Earthmaker developed his present position through the displacement of the chief bad spirit called *Hereguninx*. [756]

The older conception of Earthmaker seems to crop out also in the occasional attempts of individuals to obtain blessings from him. (Cf. the tale of Wegi'ceka, p. 201.) [781]

Little can be learned as to the actual appearance of Earthmaker In the origin myth of the medicine dance he is described as though he were clearly anthropomorphic. The symbol associated with him in the war-bundle feasts, the cross, is unquestionably supposed to represent the four cardinal points. [716 823]

Earthmaker is not supposed to bestow any definite blessings on man. He is, in a general way, expected to give them life. There is but little real worship of him because he is far removed from man and is supposed to come into relation with them only through his intermediaries, the spirits. According to the cosmological myths he

[1] The Religion of the North American Indians, Journ. Am. Folklore, vol. 27, no. 106.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[776] created everything with the definite purpose of benefiting mankind in contrast to the creative acts of the old Trickster. It is very instructive to notice how he gradually usurped the place formerly held by the older spirit-deities and clan ancestors. In the clan origin myths there are a number of versions where he directs certain spirit animals, the ancestors of the clan, to go down to earth, while in other apparently older versions nothing is said of him.

Sun. The sun is known to the Winnebago generally as *haⁿhuira*, orb of day, and ceremonially as *haⁿhoreⁿjara*, day-wanderer. He does not occupy to-day the position he formerly held. There are a number of indications that seem to point to the fact that his worship diminished when that of Earthmaker began to assert itself. Many of his functions and powers were likewise taken over by the Thunderbirds, who, although they distinctly belong to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, have yet assumed their present importance apparently in connection with the development of the Earthmaker belief.

[773] The sun is occasionally spoken of in myths, but rarely as a culture hero. In only one myth collected was he the hero of the myth. There he appears as the husband of the moon and as an anthropomorphic being who possesses an all-powerful disk (the sun).

[782] Offerings are frequently made to him, but he rarely blesses an individual. In other words, he is not a true guardian spirit. He only blesses men and upon them he always confers success in war.

Moon. The moon, like the sun, probably formerly occupied a more important place in the Winnebago pantheon. She is a female deity and blesses women, although, like the sun, she is not a true guardian spirit.

Earth. Earth, like the moon, is a female deity. She is one of the oldest deities of the Winnebago and appears as the grandmother in some of the oldest myth cycles, like that of the hare. Offerings are

[782] made to her at the various ceremonies, particularly at the medicine dance and the war-bundle feasts. She never appears as a guardian spirit.

● [756] The earth is one of the deities who has received considerable reinterpretation at the hands of the shamans. In the myths she is a purely folk-mythological figure in no way interested in furthering the welfare of mankind. On the contrary, she is spoken of as the sister of those bad spirits who are bent on destroying the human race. Her rôle as a beneficent deity probably developed in connection with that of the hare, her grandchild, according to the old folklore notions, transformed when he became associated with the founding of the medicine dance or its older Winnebago predecessor from a typical trickster to an heroic animal deity.

Morning Star.—This is one of the spirits belonging to the older strata of Winnebago beliefs, who apparently was not displaced by

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths. 776

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

Disease-giver. This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hocᵉᵉᵍᵃ wahira*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war and the curing of disease. [726 755]

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

Thunderbird. Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theromorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing of bay wreathes. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle. [756]

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with victory on the warpath. [726]

Water-spirit.—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wakᵉteeri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup- [756]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

or success on the warpath to the most insignificant trifles. Practically any spirit, no matter how indefinitely conceived, can bestow generalized blessings. On the whole, however, these powers are conceived of as being in the hands of a comparatively small number, and the same powers are frequently possessed by different spirits. This will become clear after a careful perusal of the fasting experiences. 776

As to the prevalence of the belief in the localization of spirits, not only among the Winnebago but over all North America, there can no longer be any doubt. Among the Winnebago there are as many spirits as there are lakes, hills, rivers, etc., and all these are looked upon from two points of view, first as the bestowers of certain blessings and, secondly, as the protectors of their own precincts. In the first case they are generally identical with the guardian spirits. In the second case they are simply vague, indistinct spirits to whom offerings are made for temporary protection. So when a Winnebago crossed a river or lake he poured tobacco into the water as a recompense for trespassing, and uttered the prayer that no storms should arise or that he should not come to grief. [171] [782]

As to whether the spirits here are the lakes, rivers, hills, etc., or some being inhabiting them, the answer is, unquestionably the latter.

The Twofold Interpretation of the Relation of the Spirits to Man

We mentioned before (p. 279) that the interpretation of the relationship between the spirits and man was largely mechanical, blessings being secured apparently independent of any volition on the part of the spirits, for if the Winnebago make the requisite offerings to the Thunderbirds they must accept them and bestow on the suppliant the powers they possess. While this interpretation was undoubtedly the popular one, the shamans tried to develop another explanation—what might be called a "contract" theory. The spirits possessed the various powers without which man could achieve only a modicum of success; and man possessed tobacco, corn, eagle feathers, buckskin, etc. His principal possession, however, was tobacco, and this had been given him directly by Earthmaker. The contract was definite and distinct: man was to give the spirits tobacco, etc.; and the spirits were to give man the powers they controlled. Accompanying this change of interpretation, there was a difference of attitude, the principal characteristic of which was a heightened religious feeling. This change of interpretation is clearly shown in the concept of the guardian spirit. [756]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

This I know now. The whole thing is untrue. Therefore I stopped using these supernatural powers some time ago.[a]

The old people made me fast so that I might obtain blessings, and that I might lead a life similar to that led by my ancestors. My father asked me to fast so that I might be of some help to my fellowmen as I grew up. It is through fasting that individuals obtain the power of curing disease and restoring a person to health again.

Spirits from above also came to me. They took me to the spirit-shaman village. As the shamans gathered around me they said that the blessing would be very difficult to give me. Then the shaman sitting far in front made himself holy and breathed upon me (i. e., performed the actions of a shaman when treating a patient). When he was finished, then he began to sing and all those in the lodge began to breathe, helping him. Then the second shaman made himself holy and began to breathe and sing. In this way four of them made themselves holy. They were showing me what to do when I came back to earth. If a person on earth is sick (this is what they meant), and is in an almost hopeless condition where no one else could cure him, then they would call for me and offer me tobacco with which I was to sacrifice to the spirits who had taught me.

Indeed I am holy. If a man is sick I can restore him to health. That is what I used to think. I really (had it been true) should have felt it, for I labored earnestly and honestly to be a holy person. Yet in spite of all my exertions I was very unfortunate. I had married twice and both of my wives and all my children died. Indeed, how could I ever consider myself a holy man (i. e., if I couldn't even cure my own wife and children of what value were my "supernatural powers")! For a long time I knew that, at least I should have known it.[a] (I was not holy.) Then I ate the peyote and now I really see myself as I am. Indeed I am not holy. My body is without a soul. I thought myself holy. So I have stopped the practice of the shaman.

[a] The informant had become a convert to the Peyote belief only a short time before he wrote down this account of his fasting, and it is interesting to see that, although he no longer believes in the efficacy of the supernatural powers, he still believes that they exist. Two years after this, however, the same informant explained them, as all the older members of the Peyote cult explain them, namely, as delusions, either caused by the abnormal condition of the youth while fasting or as snares of the devil.

[a] In the words "I should have known it" are summed up the essential change of attitude between the Peyote Winnebago and the older Winnebagoes. The latter, too, had observed the apparent failure of the supernatural powers on many occasions, but instead of attributing them to any diminution of efficacy in the "powers," attributed them, on the contrary, to a lack of something in the individual trying to use the "power," in so far as they thought about it at all. But the essential difference between the two cults, the older one and the Peyote, lies not so much in the logical conclusions their adherents have drawn from the failure of the "supernatural powers" to behave as they were expected to, as in the fact that the Peyote people make the failure of the "power" the subject of discussion and the old Winnebagoes accept the whole concept of "supernatural power" as such, and do not permit it to rise into their consciousness.

l:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

R.'S FASTING.

(R. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this
787 village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The
776 Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'ste k'ine'dja'e'dja rahi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'āro' hitcak'āro' ha'gixewi're.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you." Thus
776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

756
159 ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[11]

787 Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish
[526] to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experiences of a well-known man.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

I would like to be. I would like to be able to treat people the way he does, and I have for that reason blackened my face and fasted for eight days." Then I was blessed and they (the messengers of the spirits) came after me. Up above, to a shaman spirit-lodge they took me. There I saw the chief, and he said to me, "What you desire, what you are thirsting yourself to death for, that you are to be blessed with. For that reason these people have brought you here. Here you are to give an exhibition of your powers. I am the one who has caused you to be brought here (i. e., blessed you), I am the ruler of this village and I sent for you to give you the following powers:

"If ever an Indian is sick, even if he is so sick that he is practically dead, I give you the power of restoring him to life. Now you are to show your powers. Here is a log so rotten and decayed that it is practically falling apart."[1] Upon this you are to exert your power and show that you have been blessed. This is what the spirits meant when they blessed you." Then he walked around the log, breathed upon it, and spat water upon it, and it became human. Then he walked around it again and again spat water upon it, and it began to move. Then for the third time he spat water upon it and walked around it and it began to groan. Then he walked around it for the fourth time, and again spat water upon the log, and it got up and walked away. He had restored the log to life. Then the spirit said to him, "Man, with this power you are blessed. That for which you longed, that for which you fasted, you are blessed with. Giving-humans-life, thus the people will call you."

Then all the spirits who are above said as follows: "Brother-in-law,[2] that you may live I am telling you this story."

In the wilderness I went, and there near an oval hill I sat down and wept. Below the hill lay a round lake and there I saw the rising dew coming in a fog. This first spread itself out over us, and then, in turn, shrank and became small. All this time I sat there weeping. There was something moving in the lake, but although I was looking in that direction I did not see anything. They (evidently the spirits) were sneaking up on me. Two (flames of) fire suddenly burst forth extending from above to the lake. Then a report like

[1] This log is supposed to represent a human being in a similar condition—that is, practically on the verge of dissolution.

[2] The account is suddenly interrupted here to tell the listener why Aratge'ka is telling the story of his fasting. The personal religious experiences were very sacred and rarely told even to near relatives. As far as I know, they were only told before death or when a person was very ill, as in the present case. The purpose seems to have been to transfer the benefits of the blessing to the sick person and cure him in much the same way as is done when an accredited shaman goes through his entire performance. Of course, Aratge'ka's blessing related directly to the curing of disease. But evidently it was believed that blessings connected with other powers were equally efficacious.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 159 787 776 that of a gun sounded. The two (spirits) were causing it. Suddenly a great noise was heard. I kept right on crying, for I was trying to be blessed. I sat there with staring eyes looking at the spirits. "I must be receiving a blessing," I thought. I continued crying and after a short time it began to rain very much. "How is this," I thought to myself, "only a little time before it was so nice and now it is raining." Yet in spite of the rain no water seemed to fall upon me. "How is it," I thought, "here it is raining and yet no rain is falling upon me." Then I looked above and I saw that it was very cloudy, yet straight above me in a direct line the sky was blue. This blue spot was like a round object covering me as though it were an umbrella. The Thunderbirds were blessing me. With the blue sky, they were blessing me. Soon the noise stopped, and when I looked above I saw four (men) standing with packs upon their backs. These (the spirits) killed. Then they blessed me with the power of killing. They spoke to me and said, "Stop your crying. What you have longed for and fasted for, with that we have blessed you. Just as these four men have been killed, so you will be able to kill people. But you will also be able to restore them to life again. Upon your body now we will make a mark and those whom you wish to bless will be given an opportunity of selecting life for themselves,[15] so that, even when a person be practically dead he will be restored to health. What is above you, the blue sky, that we place on one of your fingers,[16] and with that we bless you. If the patient picks the finger with the mark upon it, he will live."

The Thunderbirds were the spirits speaking to me. They had spears and little war-clubs in their hands and (wreathes) made of flat cedar leaves upon their heads. Thus did four Thunderbirds bless me.

"Well, brother-in-law, I want you to live and I want you to pick life for yourself—i. e., pick the finger with the blue mark upon it. Do it carefully and do not attempt it when you are tired. Here are my four fingers and one of them has the blue sky upon it (i. e., the blue mark that betokens life). If you choose that, you will certainly live. You are the second person (to whom I have offered my fingers). Now do not miss it, for if you miss it you will surely die. Be careful, then, in picking it."

[155] Then the brother-in-law picked the little finger and Aratege'ka said, "Brother-in-law, it is good. You will live." Then he turned his little finger around and there a circular blue mark was visible.

ACCOUNT OF X.'S FASTING

159 787 The spirits can bless you with everything. My father used to tell me how much he loved me and how much he wished me to fast.

[15] That is, a sick person will have to guess at the part of the body that has been blessed by the Thunderbirds, and if he guesses correctly he will become well.

[16] That is, we will place a mark made with blue clay upon your finger.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

He wanted me to fast all the time. I would therefore, to please him, fast off and on through the winter. The longest I ever fasted at any one time was six days. I was blessed by a yellow snake who lived near Medway, Wis. It was at that place that I fasted one winter. The spirit-snake that lives there blessed me with life and the right to draw bad blood from sick people (i. e., "cup blood"). These blessings are truly efficacious, but after they have been handed down to the next generation they lose their power (unless renewed). That same winter, not long before the beginning of spring, I fasted again for four days and early on the morning of the fourth day as I was walking along a ravine, crying and putting myself in a "pitiable condition," so that the spirits might take pity upon me, some one came to meet me. Up to this time, in spite of all my exertions and fastings, I had not been blessed by any of the spirits. The one who was coming toward me was walking very fast and when I stopped to look at him I saw that he was a man. His entire body was painted red and he wore an eagle feather on his head and garters around his legs. When he came near to me he said: "Human, I bless you. You may now go home and eat (i. e., break your fast). Every day I will bring the blessing of life to you. This also (I wish to tell you), if you think of me when you are in any difficulty, you will pass through it safely. The sick you will be able to heal through the blessing I give you. I am the Sun. Even if a day is cloudy, then know that I am keeping life for you beyond the clouds."

159 787 159 787 776 756

HOW T. FASTED AND WAS BLESSED WITH A WAR-BUNDLE[11]

Our war-bundle is eight generations old. In the beginning my clansmen had no war-bundles. Whenever they had war, they had nothing from which to receive strength. The only powerful possession they had was fire. That was the only thing they carried when on the warpath. Soon they discovered that other clans had war-bundles and that they received them by fasting for them. So K'erex u"'sak'a started to fast for one. He fasted from early autumn until summer and he received a blessing. Then he went to his father and told him, "Father, you told me to fast. Let us now go and see with what I have been blessed." So the old man accompanied his son.[12] When the old man got there he found a snake dried and dressed up and standing in an upright position. The snake had long hairs on its back, scattered here and there. The father on seeing it said, "My son, this is really too great. If you accept this and carry it with you on the warpath, you will not leave any human beings alive (i. e., you will always want to go on the

614 778 787 778

[11] This is the account of the origin of a war-bundle claimed to be eight generations old.

[12] Evidently the spirit had told him to go to a certain place and that there he would find certain objects, namely, the material objects with which he had been blessed.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human, if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man, in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief. "Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the [782]
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars: the Earthmaker has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to [278]
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants [782]
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. "This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your [534]
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will [726]
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 010

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." Thus spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed. 159 787 776

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo. 159 787 776 726

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true. [727]

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given. [756] [778]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

J. R.'S FASTING EXPERIENCE

159 787 I fasted all the time. We moved back to a place where all the leaders used to give their feasts. Near the place where we lived there were three lakes and a black hawk's nest. Right near the tree where the nest was located they built a lodge and the war-bundle that we possessed was placed in the lodge. We were to pass the night there, my older brother and myself. It was said that if anyone [756] fasted at such a place for four nights he would always be blessed with victory and the power to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

159 787 776 "The first night spent there one imagined himself surrounded by spirits whose whisperings were heard outside of the lodge," they said. The spirits would even whistle. I would be frightened and nervous, and if I remained there I would be molested by large monsters, fearful to look upon. Even (the bravest) might be frightened, I was told. Should I, however, get through that night, I would on the following night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speaking outside. They would say things that might cause me to run away. Toward morning they would even take my blanket away from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me out of the lodge, and they would not stop until the sun rose. If I was able to endure the third night, on the fourth night I would really be addressed by spirits, it was said, who would bless me, saying, "I bless you. We had turned you over to the (monsters, etc.) and that is why they approached you, but you overcame them and now they will not be able to take you away. Now you may go home, for with victory and long life we bless you and also with the power of healing the sick. Nor shall you lack wealth (literally, 'people's possessions'). So go home and eat, for a large war-party is soon to fall upon you and as soon as the sun rises in the morning they will give the war whoop, and if you do not go home now they will kill you."

Thus the spirits would speak to me. However, if I did not do the bidding of this particular spirit, then another one would address me and say very much the same thing. So the spirits would speak until the break of day, and just before sunrise a man in warrior's regalia would come and peep in. He would be a scout. Then I would surely think a war party had come upon me, I was told.

Then another spirit would come and say, "Well, grandson, I have taken pity upon you and I bless you with all the good things that the earth holds. Go home now, for the war-party is about to rush upon you." And if I then went home, as soon as the sun rose the war-whoop would be given. The members of the war-party would give the war-whoop all at the same time. They would rush upon me and capture me and after the fourth one had counted coup, then

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of *Hereegu'nina* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereegu'nina* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereegu'nina* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereegu'nina*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

The concept of disease.—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.—Death is rarely, if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and,

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Once a medicine-dance man and a night-blessed man became jealous and the medicine-dance man said that he would play tricks on the night-blessed man. The night-blessed man said he was quite willing to have a contest. So the two came and sat opposite each other and began their contest. Whatever the medicine-dance man did the night-blessed man did too, but always a little better. The medicine-dance man was defeated, so from that time on the medicine-dance men are afraid of the former. The medicine-dance men shot the night-blessed men with claws, but they could not kill them. Therefore they were afraid of them. The night-blessed men could kill the medicine-dance men at pleasure. The medicine-dance men were inferior. That is all.

Society of Those Who Have Been Blessed By the Herok'a

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The feast of those who have been blessed by the Herok'a is given at any time of the year. Anyone may be invited. The feast is held in a long lodge and is generally given by a number of members at the same time (or by all). Each person brings a deer and his bow and arrows. The bows and arrows are painted different colors, depending upon the color (paint) with which the individual has been blessed. The bows are all stuck in the ground between the first two fireplaces and the arrows in a row just behind them.

During the ceremony and feast the members all sing the songs with which they have been blessed. The ceremony is held before the feast and is conducted by one of the members of the society. He leads, holding a bow in one hand. The others follow, holding arrows in their hands. Only men are permitted to dance. There are certain songs, to the accompaniment of which women are permitted to dance. But the women must have passed their climacteric.

They do not use gourd rattles as at the other dances. Instead a number of deer hoofs are strung together and used in place of them. (They do not eat with their hands or with the ordinary sticks) but use instead forked sticks, whittled down at one end. The leader wears a headdress to which a horn is attached, and paints his body with the same color as his arrows. Whoever leads the dance carries a flute, which he plays before and after each song. Those following him hit their mouth with the palm of their hands and whoop.

When the dance is over, each one of the feasters takes his plate and dances out.[1]

[1] This account of the Herok'a Society is unfortunately merely fragmentary, but from a few additional notes obtained there seems to be little doubt that it represents the same type of organization as the other religious fraternities.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 756 There are two ways in which a man can join the medicine dance. He may simply apply for admission to any of the five leaders, or he may take the place of a deceased relative. In the former case, if his payment is satisfactory, and he has the other qualifications, he is accepted. In the other case, his relatives decide to have him take the place of a deceased relative. This latter form of candidacy is by far the more common. At the present day initiation requires the payment of about $300 or $400, in the form of goods and tobacco. Of this, a portion is given to the leader of the ancestor host's band during the four nights' preparation, and the rest to the leaders of the other four bands during the ceremony proper.

Exactly how much information an individual obtains on entering can not be determined. Much depends on the amount of the payment. The minimum knowledge would amount to an acquaintance with the bare externals of the ceremony, its general significance, and such knowledge of the legendary origin of the lodge as a single recital could give. The new member is not initiated into the symbolism of the ritualistic myths, and consequently a large portion of the same must be unintelligible to him. What he obtains is practically only the right to hold the otter-skin bag and to use it in a certain way. He may not take part in any of the forms of dancing or singing, nor may he even shoot at will. He very rarely remains in this condition long, but takes the first opportunity to purchase additional knowledge and privileges.

There are three kinds of members—mature men, women, and children. The privileges of women differ from those of the men, in that the women do not have to take the sweat bath, may never become assistants, and are allowed to dance only in a certain way. In other respects they have the same privileges as men. In practice there are certain privileges that women never have, but this is due to the fact that either they do not care for them or they are not in a position to buy them. Children belong to a quite different category. Although they possess an otter skin, they have not even the power of making it effective. There does not seem to be any evidence indicating that women were ever excluded from membership.

621 756 *Prescribed duties of the hosts.*—The duties of the host, called the ancestor-host, are as follows:

1. To rehearse the songs and rituals with his band four nights previous to the ceremony proper. At this rehearsal the candidate is always present and is instructed in the ceremony.

[202] 2. To send out invitation sticks and tobacco to the leaders of the other four bands. The messengers are always his sisters' sons.

3. To begin the four nights' ceremony preceding the ceremony proper.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

4. To receive the leaders and assistants of the other four bands before the sweat-lodge ritual, and to begin the same, 621 756

5. To begin the ceremony proper.

6. To take part in the main portion of the ceremony proper:

(*a*) To welcome the four bands.

(*b*) To lead the candidate to the secret brush and instruct him in certain precepts.

(*c*) To act as preceptor of the candidate before he is shot with the sacred shell.

(*d*) To turn the candidate over to the charge of the leaders of the east and north bands.

(*e*) To relate certain of the myths.

(*f*) To deliver specific speeches and to perform the actions that constitute the basic ritual of the ceremony proper. This will be discussed later.

The east is known as Those-who-sit-first, Where-the-day-comes-from, Where-the-sun-rises. All these terms are used frequently. The duties of the leader are:

1. To assist the ancestor host in passing upon the eligibility of a candidate.

2. To take part in the following portions of the ceremony proper:

(*a*) Accompanied by his two assistants, to take part in the brush ritual.

(*b*) To take charge of the candidate after he has been handed over to him by the ancestor host.

(*c*) To shoot the sacred shell into the candidate's body.

(*d*) To relate certain of the myths.

(*e*) To perform the basic ritual.

The north band is known as Where-the-cold-comes-from. The leader has the same duties as those of the east leader. The myths recited are of course different.

The west band is known as Where-the-sun-goes-down. The leader has the duty of reciting certain myths and performing the basic ritual.

The south band is known as He-who-sits-at-the-end-of-the-road or Where-the-sun-straightens. The duties of the leader are the same as those of the leader of the west band, except that the myths he recites are different.

The distribution of the gifts to the different bands is as follows: 621 The leader of the east band receives one-half of the number of blankets, the upper half of the new suit worn by the candidate, and one-quarter of the food. 756 431

The leader of the north band receives one-half of the blankets, the lower half of the suit, the moccasins, and one-quarter of the food.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

621 The leaders of the west and south bands receive each 3½ yards
● 756 of calico and a fourth of the food.
431 The ancestor host receives various gifts of food and tobacco from the leaders of the other bands. He receives his payment from the candidate before the ceremony proper.

756 The candidate is present at the four nights' ceremony of the an-
796 cestor host's band, preliminary to the ceremony proper. At the latter ceremony he sits to the right of the ancestor host's band. He is not dressed in his new suit until after the secret ceremonies in the brush.

302 There are facial decorations distinctive of the different bands:
621 The host's band and the candidate paint a blue circle on each cheek, but its significance is unknown to the writer.

The regalia used are simple and few. They consist of eagle, hawk, squirrel, beaver, and otter-skin bags (pls. 51–53), a drum, gourd rattles, and invitation sticks. The otter-skin bags are always beaded and contain the sacred shell and various medicines. A few red feathers are always inserted in the mouth of the otter-skin bag. The gourds contain buckshot at the present time and are painted with blue finger marks.

Division of the ceremony.—The medicine dance is divided into five well-marked parts. The first part (I) consists of the two nights' preparation preceding the sending out of the invitation sticks. This takes place at the home of the ancestor host in the presence of the members of his band and the candidate. The second part (II) consists of the four nights' preparation preceding the sweat-lodge ritual. Each band has its own four nights' preparation, although that of the ancestor host begins before the others. The third part (III) consists of the rites held in a sweat lodge, specially constructed for this purpose near the medicine lodge, on the morning after the four nights' preparation. The participants are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east, west, north, and south bands, each with his two assistants, and the candidate. The fourth part (IV) consists of the ceremony proper, which in turn must be divided into the night ceremony (*a*) and the day ceremony (*b*). The fifth part (V) consists of the rites held in the brush, at which the secrets of the society are imparted to the candidate. Special guards are placed on all sides of the brush to prevent the intrusion of outsiders. The participants,
[625] besides the candidate, are the ancestor host, the leaders of the east and north bands, each with his two assistants, and all other individuals who have bought the privilege of attending. These ceremonies take place at dawn preceding the day ceremony.

Two feasts and one intermission interrupt the main ceremony. The feasts always take place at the end of the ritual of the east
[621] band—i. e., generally at noon and at midnight. The intermission

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

generally lasts from dawn preceding the day ceremony until 7 or 8 a. m. The intermission begins as soon as the drum and gourds have been returned to the ancestor host and ends as soon as the people return from the brush ritual. 756 796

The first and second parts are concerned entirely with a recital of certain ritualistic myths and a rehearsal of the songs and the specific ritual of each band used during the remaining parts.

Types and component elements of the ceremony. For purposes of greater clarity, the speeches, songs, and types of action will be carefully differentiated and referred to by some designation characterizing their essential traits. These speeches, songs, and types of action together form combinations which may be regarded as units, and they will therefore also be referred to by some designation characteristic of their function.

1. Types of speeches. (1) Salutations: No formal salutation is used during Parts I and II, the individuals being addressed by their relationship terms. In Parts III, IV and V the salutations are invariably the same. The ancestor host and his band are addressed as follows: "The-one-occupying-the-seat-of-a-relative (deceased) and you-who-sit-with-him, do I salute." The east is addressed, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-rises"; the north, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-cold-comes-from"; the west, "You-who-represent-the-place-where-the-sun-straightens," or (preferably) "You-who-represent-the-end-of-the-road." 756 796 537 576

The appellations of the bands, as before stated, refer to the creation myth and the four guardian spirits whom Hare visited for the purpose of inquiring into the necessity and meaning of death. Hare was compelled to travel around the earth, which is conceived of as an island, and received no answer until he came to the spirit at the end of the road. In the dramatic performance of the medicine dance the lodge typifies the earth and the four bands and their leaders typify the four spirits. The ancestor host's band typifies the ancestor of the Winnebago. 773 756 796 621 [772]

(2) Speeches: Under this head will be treated (*a*) speeches of welcome; (*b*) speeches of acceptation; (*c*) speeches of presentation; (*d*) speeches explanatory of the significance of the ritual; and (*e*) speeches of admonition, addressed exclusively to the candidate. This does not exhaust all. There are many others, generally short, that can hardly be classified. In their content, as well as in the order of their succession, the speeches must follow a traditionally determined sequence. In practice this is certainly not always true, but to the mind of the Winnebago these speeches appear as old as the ceremony. It is their firm belief that any departure from the accepted type will interfere with the efficacy of the ceremony. 796 537 756

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

796 (a) Speeches of welcome: When the leader of the east band enters
756 after the ancestor host has begun the ceremony (IV, b), he addresses
537 the latter as follows: "It was good of you to condescend to invite me
576 to this dance. I am a poor pitiable man and you believed me to be a medicine man. However, I know you will show me the true manner of living, which I thought I possessed, but which I in reality did not." In this strain he continues, weaving into his speech references to the ritual connected with his band and offering thanks for the beautiful weather (should it be a clear day). In concluding he thanks all again, and informs them that he will sing a song. With slight alterations the leaders of the other bands address the ancestor host similarly. The ancestor host's answer of welcome is as follows: "Whatever I desired you have done for me. All night have you stayed with me and by your presence helped me in the proper performance of this ceremony. I am ready with a dancing song, and when I have finished and sit down I shall pass to you tobacco and other means of blessing (the gourds and the drum). All who are present do I greet."

(b) Speeches of acceptation: After the ancestor host has been presented with food he thanks the donors as follows: "You have had pity on me. You have been good to me and have given me to the full whatever I desired. You have filled my heart with the blessing of thankfulness. In return I give you a blessing. Here is some food for you. It is not anything special, nor is it as much as it ought to be, and I know you will remain hungry. It was prepared for the spirits of the four quarters (whom you represent), but it is lacking in all those qualities which would have made it acceptable to them. Such as it is, however, may its presentation be a means of blessing to you."

796 (c) Speech of presentation: East presents the food to the ancestor
756 host with the following words: "I have not very much to tell you,
537 because I am too poor, but our ancestors told us to give you food. This little that I give is all that I can, being a person of so little importance."

(d) Explanatory speeches: These are of so specific a nature that no single one can be considered typical.

(e) Speeches of admonition: "Nephew, now I shall tell you the path you must walk, the life you must lead. This is the life Hare obtained for us. This is the only kind of life—this that our ancestors followed. Listen to me. If you will always help yourself, then you
[867] will attain to the right life. Never do anything wrong. Never steal, never tell an untruth, and never fight. If you meet a woman on the left side of the road, turn to the right. Never accost her nor speak familiarly with a person whom you are not permitted thus to address. If you do all these things, then you will be acting correctly. This is what I desire of you."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

2. Types of songs: The songs may be divided into two groups. (1) Those that are sung in connection with myths and after the speeches of a more general nature, and (2) those that are sung to accompany definite and specific actions. These latter can therefore be most conveniently divided into (*a*) minor dance songs, (*b*) major dance songs, (*c*) initial songs, (*d*) terminal songs, (*e*) loading songs, and (*f*) shooting songs. The medicine men distinguish only between four kinds of songs: major and minor dance, terminal, and shooting songs. Each has a different rhythm and music. For purposes of description, however, the above division is more convenient. 796 756 533

3. Types of action: (1) Blessing: Either hand is held outstretched, palm downward, and moved horizontally through the air. It is always used when entering and leaving the lodge and on any occasion where an individual has to pass from one part of the lodge to another. 756 788

It is always rendered as "blessing" by the Indians, and they particularly insist upon the fact that the "blessing" was not conveyed by any words used in connection with the action, but by the action itself. Each person who is thus passed answers with a long-drawn-out "*ho . o o*" and with an obeisance of the head.

A modification of the above is the "blessing of the head," which consists of a simple laying of the hand upon the head, both the giver and the recipient keeping their eyes fixed upon the ground, the recipient slightly bending his head. A few mumbled words accompany this action.

(2) Direction of walking in the lodge: Individuals always walk contrary to the hands of the clock. A person in the east band must make the entire circuit of the lodge in order to pass out. In only exceptional cases can this rule of passing be broken, and that is when an old and especially privileged member crosses from his seat to that directly opposite him during the shooting ceremony. I was given to understand that this was an extremely expensive privilege. 756 796 823

4. Types of ritual: Parts III, IV, and V can be so analyzed that they fall into a fairly well-defined number of units, consisting of speeches, songs, and movements. These units are nine in number. Artificial distinctions have been avoided in this division, as far as possible. The units are (1) entrance ritual; (2) exit ritual; (3) fire ritual; (4) presentation-of-food ritual; (5) shooting ritual; (6) initiation ritual; (7) sweat-lodge ritual; (8) smoking ritual; (9) basic ritual. 796 756

Of these, (3), (5), (7), (8), and (9) are found in Part III; all except (7) and (6) in Part IV (*a*); and all except (7) in Part IV (*b*). (5) does not actually occur in Part III, but is described in detail in the myth related there. The order in which we will discuss these ceremonial units is not the order in which they follow one another in the ritual. Some are interwoven with one another. Both these factors will, however, be considered in the description of the entire ritual, following the description of each ceremonial unit.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 796 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one complete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*wu-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 276] (8) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

Presentation-of-food ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yoho—

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

o—oyu—a" three times, and ending with a long-drawn-out "yo—ho." At the west end both he and the leader of the south band speak. Then chanting "yo—ho" again, they all walk toward the east end. Here the leader of the east band speaks twice. All now place their otter skins on the ground in front of them, and east speaks again. At the conclusion of his speech, all kneel in front of the otter skins and cough, at which the sacred shell drops from their mouths upon the otter skins. They thereupon pick it up, and holding the shell in one hand and the otter skins in the other, make a circuit of the lodge four times, increasing their speed each time, and singing. All this time the shell is held in full view of the spectators, on the outstretched palm of the right hand. As they near the east end of the lodge, at the end of the fourth circuit, standing in front of the ancestor host's band, they supposedly swallow the shell, and fall down, instantaneously, head foremost, as if dead. Finally they come to, and coughing up the shell they put it into their otter-skin bags, and then making the circuit of the tent, shoot four members of the ancestor host's band, four of the east, four of the north, two of the west, and two of the south band. Each person as he is shot falls prostrate upon the ground, but recovering after a few moments, joins those making the circuit of the tent. Each leader now takes his drum and gourds to the fireplace. Then the general shooting commences. Each person possessing the right shoots one individual, until all the members have been shot. As each person is shot he falls to the ground, feigns unconsciousness, and then slowly recovers. The slowness or speed of his recovery depends exclusively upon the privileges he possesses and the number of years he has belonged to the society. As soon as each person shot recovers he falls in line immediately after the last one shot. While all are thus walking around a half dozen people at the fireplace sing shooting songs to the accompaniment of drums and gourds. The amount of noise at this point is quite considerable.

(6) Initiation ritual (Part IV, *b*): All the members of the ancestor host's band and the candidate make one circuit of the lodge, taking their otter skins with them. As they pass around they gently touch the heads of the members with the mouth of the otter skin, saying "*Y'ake—e—a*", to which the members respond with "*Ho—e—a*." After the circuit, all return to their seats, with the exception of the candidate, who remains at the east end in front of the fireplace. After a pause the ancestor host joins the latter and delivers a speech of the admonition type. The candidate first faces the south and then the north. During the speech the ancestor host touches him on his head and on his chest and makes him face first south and then north. When the speech is over the ancestor host sings and takes the candidate to the west end of the tent.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 796 The tent is now prepared for the initiation proper. Two long strips of calico are stretched from the west to the east end of the lodge. They are about a foot and a half wide and are separated from each other by the fireplace. At the west end a much shorter strip of the same material is stretched along the width of the lodge across the two long strips. Upon this the candidate is placed. When these preparations are completed the ancestor host arises and going to each of the four leaders speaks to them in an undertone. He then returns to his seat. The leaders of the east and north bands now arise and make the complete circuit of the lodge. First the former and then the latter speaks. Then the former speaks twice. After that the leader of the north band delivers another speech and, together with his partner, walks to the west end of the lodge, where the candidate is kneeling. The two leaders here speak again. Both now take their sacred shells, swallow them, and walk to the east end (pls. 82, 83).

Here they speak again and hold their otter skins in readiness for the shooting, but first jerk them forward twice toward the four cardinal points, saying "*dje-ho-hi, dje-ho-hi,*" and concluding with "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" Standing upon the two calico strips in a slightly bent position and holding the otter skin tightly in their hands, they now run rapidly toward the reclining form of the candidate, making loud threatening sounds in a quavering voice, and strike his body twice with the mouth of the otter skin, emitting two short sounds as of an animal who has succeeded in capturing his prey. The candidate falls prostrate to the ground instantaneously. He is immediately covered with a blanket upon which are placed the otter skins of the two leaders. A number of people especially privileged now gather around the covered figure, dance, sing, and shout to the accompaniment of the shouts of the other members of the society, all of whom seem in a frenzy of excitement. When the noise has somewhat abated the blanket is removed and the figure of the candidate is shown, still apparently unconscious. He comes to slowly and finally succeeds in raising himself and sitting up. He then coughs violently, and the shell which has apparently been shot through his body falls out of his mouth. After this his recovery is rapid. He is then undressed and the finery and new buckskin suit, moccasins, etc., are distributed to those to whom it is customary to give them. He now returns to his seat, to the right of the ancestor host's band, where some female relative, generally his mother, dresses him in an ordinary suit.

(7) Sweat-lodge ritual (Part III): The east leader rises and with his two assistants makes the circuit of the sweat lodge, while the north, west, and south leaders each with two assistants join him. At the east end the leader makes four steps with his right foot, each

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

time saying, "*Wa-hi-hi.*" He then makes the circuit of the lodge four times. After the third circuit he goes directly to the heating stone, "in defiance of the rule," as he himself says, but with the hope that through this defiance he will gain additional strength. After he has made the fourth circuit he seizes the two entrance lodge poles and, shaking them gently, shouts "*e-ho-ho-ho.*" All now sit down. The ancestor host now takes four sticks and smears them with a special kind of greenish clay and hands them to the leader of the east band. The latter seizes them and holds them tightly with both hands. By this action he is supposed to obtain strength. The sticks are then passed in rotation to the leaders of the north, west, and south bands, all of whom repeat the same ceremony.

(9) Basic ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): This ritual is that upon which the ritual for the ceremony proper (Part IV, *a* and *b*) is built. In a certain sense it may be justifiable to consider all the above ritualistic complexes with the exception of the entrance and exit rituals as parts of this basic ritual. The important religious function of the medicine dance is the "passing" of the blessing, consisting of speeches, songs, and the blessings, going from one band to the other, for the greater benefit of both the host and his guests. These blessings are symbolized by the drum, the gourds, the songs, the speeches, and the specific actions in which each band participates. The ceremony begins when the ancestor host delivers his first speech and ends when drum and gourds are returned to him. All that takes place between the ancestor host's first speech up to the time that the drum and gourds are placed before the members of the east band constitutes the unit that I have called the basic ritual. Into it are thrust as intrusive elements other rituals, so that it is at times extremely difficult to discern the basic ritual itself. But it is there and remains intact, for as soon as an intrusive ritual is finished it is taken up and continued to the end. Such a ritual as the general shooting or the initiation, or such myths as the origin myth, require hours; and yet as soon as they are over the basic ceremony continues from the point where it has been interrupted.

The east leader rises, speaks, then sits down, and, together with the other members of his band, sings a song (initial song). When this is finished he rises and speaks again, sits down, and commences a song called the minor dancing song. While he and a few others are singing, drumming, and using the gourd rattles, other members of his band, as well as members of the other bands who so desire, and who have bought the privilege, come to his seat and join in the dancing. When this is over he and a few others, either from his own or from some other band, go to the fireplace, where the leader delivers a speech, and begin the major dancing songs, in which the privileged members participate. After this the drum is tied to one of the

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 796 privileged members, generally the one who has been drumming, and the circuit is made twice, the leader and his two assistants at the head, followed by the other members of his band. Two stops are made at the west and two at the east end, where songs, called completion songs, are sung. Then the circuit is made four times, all chanting "*Ho-hi-hi*," slowly at first, then faster, the speed of the walking corresponding to that of the chanting. Then with a final strong "*e—he—he*" drum and gourds are deposited in front of the next band. All now return to their seats, where before sitting down the leaders deliver a short speech.

This basic ritual is repeated by each band in the manner described. As it is so often broken up by the intrusion of other rituals it will be best to divide it into four parts. These parts are never broken up. Whenever intrusive elements occur, they either precede or follow.

The first part consists of all that takes place between the first speech of the leader and the completion of the initial song. The speech referred to is the one that follows the smoking ritual, which may, on the whole, be reckoned as belonging to the introductory ritual, such as the entrance ritual. The second part consists of all that transpires between the second speech and the conclusion of the minor dancing song. The third part consists of all that happens between the speech at the fireplace and the completion of the major dancing songs. The fourth part includes everything between the completion of the major dancing songs and the last speech the leader makes, after he has passed the drum and gourds to the next band.

The most bewildering intrusion is that which follows the second part. Before the leader and his assistants go to the fireplace the elaborate general shooting ritual takes place. After the specially designated men of each band have been shot, those privileged proceed to the fireplace. Here they sing the shooting songs until the ritual is over. The first set of drummers and gourd rattle holders are often relieved by a second set. It is only when the shooting songs have been completed that the leader and his assistants proceed to the fireplace to begin the third portion of the basic ritual.

Ceremony as a whole: As stated before, there are certain speeches and types of action that can not be fitted into the above description. This is especially true of myths; and these, with the exception of the content of the myth, will now be considered in connection with the description of the entire ritual as related to me by B. The ceremony begins with an account of the manner in which B. was induced to join the society. Upon his acceptance and payment of the required amount of material, the ceremony began.

The first two nights consisted of an informal salutation, two explanatory speeches, and four myths, the latter in no way connected with any part of the medicine dance. The last three myths

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

dealt with the legendary account of the origin of the Winnebago medicine dance and its dissemination among the tribes. 756 796

At sunset the leader of the band to which the candidate has applied for admission gathers together the members of his band and all retire to a little lodge near his home, in order to begin the four nights' preparation. What actually takes place during these four nights is not as stereotyped as the other rituals connected with the medicine dance. There is a general rehearsal of songs, speeches, and other elements of the ceremony. The speeches are not actually rehearsals of those to be delivered during the ceremony proper, but refer to the purpose of the medicine dance much in the same way as do some of the speeches in the ceremony proper. A large number of miscellaneous myths are likewise related. The candidate who is present in the lodge of his future ancestor host is likewise instructed in as many things as an uninitiated member is allowed to know. This instruction consists in the teaching of certain myths and types of action.

On the morning after the last of the four nights the candidate is given some sacrifical tobacco and told to go in search of a stone for the sweat bath. He selects a stone that he can carry on his back easily. Before picking it up he pours tobacco on it. As soon as the stone is brought to the lodge of the host it is heated. The candidate is now dispatched for some oak branches, four pieces of oak wood about 2½ feet in length, and some grass. The grass is used for improvised seats; the oak wood for the four construction poles of the sweat lodge. They are placed in the east, north, west, and south points, respectively. It is not permitted to trim the tops of the oak wood. When all the bands have gathered near the medicine lodge and retired to their improvised lodges, the ancestor host and the candidate go to the lodge of the east leader, that is, to the lodge of the band first invited, and greet him by touching his head with their hands.

He answers with "*He—e—e.*" The leader of the first band rises and, accompanied by his two assistants, goes to the sweat lodge. The ancestor host then goes to the lodges of the other bands and greets the leaders in a similar manner. After the leader and assistants of the band last invited have entered the sweat lodge the ancestor host, the candidate, and his assistants enter, and the ceremony is begun.

After the ceremonial salutation and an introductory speech the ancestor host, as the leader of the band giving the medicine dance may now be called, rises, and taking his invitation stick and some tobacco, approaches the leader of each band, and blessing him, thanks him for coming, assuring him at the same time to how great a degree his presence will contribute toward the success of the performance of the ritual. He then returns to his seat. The leaders thank him in turn. Now follow the fire and smoking ritual, which in turn are

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

●756 796 followed by twelve speeches of a general and explanatory character. Then comes the "strengthening" ritual, and immediately after two exceedingly long myths, describing the initiation of the first man into the secrets of the lodge, as well as the symbolic meaning of the shooting ritual. All now undress and take a sweat bath. Female candidates are excluded. A number of short speeches follow, and the whole concludes with the exit ritual.

[515] [534] The drum and gourds are used to accompany the songs. The basic ritual is perhaps present to a certain extent. The writer, however, was not permitted to witness the ritual, and for this reason the procedure seemed somewhat hazy to him.

When the ritual and the sweat baths are over there is a slight pause. The candidate, the ancestor host, and his band enter the medicine lodge, and after taking their seats sing a few songs. When the last song is concluded the other bands enter in the order of their invitation. Now comes the entrance ritual, followed by the smoking ritual. Thereupon the ancestor host rises and delivers the opening speech of the basic ritual. The ancestor host does not go through the entire basic ritual at this time, because he is not permitted to begin the shooting ritual. Soon after the beginning of the basic ritual by the ancestor host, generally after the second speech, gourds and drums are passed to the leader of the east band. This one rises and begins the basic ritual, which he interrupts at the end of the second part, in order to begin the general shooting ritual. When that is finished he continues the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. Then drum and gourds are passed to the north band. Its leader now in turn begins his basic ritual, but stops after the second part, where the presentation-of-food and the smoking rituals intervene. It is now about midnight, and the feast is given. As soon as the feast is finished and the lodge has been cleared of food and eating utensils, the leader of the north band continues up to the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. The leaders of the west and south bands perform the basic rituals without any interruption, except, of course, that of the general shooting ritual between the second and third parts. The drum and gourds have now reached the ancestor host, who goes through the third and fourth parts of the basic ritual. There is, however, some doubt as to whether this is always done. Then follows the exit ritual and all pass out to rest for a few hours.

A short time preceding dawn the candidate and the leaders of the east and north bands and the ancestor host, each with two assistants and all other members who are privileged to do so, leave the lodge and walk to the brush where the candidate is to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred shell and the shooting. Each band must have one or more of its members present at this ritual. When they are near the place set aside for the secret ritual the order of marching,

1:Radin | E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

which up to this time has been of no consequence, changes into that of single file, the leader of the east band leading. When they have arrived at the proper place, all stop. The east leader now informs those present that he is going to make a road for the candidate symbolical of the path of life, which forms the basis of the sweat bath and medicine dance. Singing, he circles the spot four times. At the end of the fourth circuit he stops and all turn around and face east. The leader of the north band has also the right to go through this ritual, but he does not always do it. Repeating the ceremony is, in all probability, connected with extra expense. All now sit down and the specific rites of the brush ritual begin.

The ancestor host rises and, taking the candidate with him, goes to the leader of the east band and speaks to him. Then he and the candidate return to their seats. The east leader now relates to the candidate a portion of the story of the journey to the land of the spirits and to the lodge of Earthmaker. When this is finished the two leaders teach the candidate how to go through the actions incidental to the shooting, the swallowing of the shell, and the recovery from its effects. When they think that he is sufficiently adept in all these actions they dress him in his new suit, put on a new pair of moccasins, decorate him with finery, and return to the medicine lodge.

The rites generally last until about 8 in the morning, so that when those who have participated in the brush ritual are returning the other members of the medicine dance are also about ready to begin the day ceremony, the principal one of the entire medicine dance. The ancestor host again precedes the other leaders in entering the lodge. Then follows the entrance ritual. During this ritual the drum is struck four times at stated intervals. The smoking ritual now follows. When it is concluded the ancestor host rises to begin the basic ritual, which is interrupted at the end of the second part. Gourds and drum are passed to the east band, whose basic ritual is also interrupted at the end of the second part. Now follows first the initiation of the candidate into the medicine dance and then the general shooting ritual. When the east leader has concluded, drum and gourds are passed to the north band, whose basic ritual is not interrupted as on the preceding day. At the conclusion of the basic ritual of the north band the food-presentation ritual follows, then the smoking ritual, and finally the feast. After the feast the leader of the west band narrates the origin myth of the medicine dance, which is continued by the leader of the south band. The presents are then distributed. After this, the basic ritual is continued by the leader of the west band, followed by that of the south band, and finally the drum and gourds go to the fireplace. The exit ritual now begins, and at about sunset the entire ceremony of the medicine dance is over.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

756 796 On the whole, it must be said that the main difference between (*a*) and (*b*) of Part IV, setting aside the initiation, lies simply in the number of myths told and the greater length of the speeches.

Personal Accounts of Initiation

159 756 1. J. B.'s account: I was about 13 years and over when they told me that they would make me a member of the medicine dance. I liked it very much. Some people do not like it at all when they are asked to join the medicine dance. I, however, liked it very much. The medicine dance I am going to join, they told me. Very much did my parents desire me to do it. If I wished to live a holy life, that is what I should do, they told me.

Then, when everything was in readiness for my initiation, we moved on to the village where the ceremony was to take place. At night they were to sing at the medicine dance, and they, my relatives, were to join in the singing with them. There they also preached to me. They told me that this rite, the medicine dance, was a good thing. I did not even then think that those who were to initiate me into the medicine dance would kill me when they shot at me, as was the popular belief.

Never had there been such a life, they said, as the one I was going to live, now that I was about to join the medicine dance. Never at any time would I have thought of such a life. Those who were about to make me join the medicine dance told me that the Indians, when they hear of it, will expect me to do great things, that they will speak well of me, and like me. That is all I can now think of concerning that matter.

Now, those who are about to make me join the medicine dance are preparing to show me the shells, and for this purpose they are taking me into the brush. There they, the elders, preached to me. I was not the least bit frightened when, after this, they prepared to shoot me with the sacred shell. Indeed, I was not the least bit worried about it, nor did I think to myself, "I wonder how it is going to be!" Then those who already belonged to the medicine dance, those whom I had dreamed of all this time, shot me. When they shot me I didn't die. That thought was in my mind; but when they shot me, as a matter of fact, I didn't even lose consciousness. Almost immediately I knew how to do it (i. e., to shoot). They liked it very much. Everything they told me to do I did immediately, nor was I backward about anything. The shaman liked it. Never had anyone learned as quickly as I had, they were saying. "That augurs well for him," they say. I thought then that the medicine dance was true.

When we returned from the brush I entered the lodge. Not in any direction did I look, not once did I speak, not once did I move around, not once did I change my position. Just as they told me

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

to sit, that way I remained sitting. As many Indians as were gathered in the lodge, all of them, I failed to notice. Not once did I, by chance, permit my glance to wander from side to side. I was doing everything exactly as I was told. The shaman liked it. 159 756

Whenever thereafter a medicine dance was given I attended it. Whenever I went in at night I remained there until it was all over, not going out once. And during the day ceremony not once did I permit my glance to wander outside. Never did I permit myself to lie down from fatigue; nor did I permit my glances to wander outside, because there was much noise there, or because some people were doing funny things. Not even within the lodge did I glance. Indeed, I never allowed my glances to wander in any direction. All the holy things I was told to do, I did. This is a holy ceremony, and I was bashful in its presence.

If at any time any of my leaders in the medicine dance wished to give the ceremony I would stay in his house together with those who had been invited. I would do all the work for him, sing the medicine dance songs, etc. All the different things he was supposed to do, all that I would do for him.

When his wife cooked, I carried the water for her, I made the fire, and helped her with the dishes. All the work she liked to have done in the house, I did for her.

All the clothes I possessed I gave to him. Money I gave to him, and the food he needed I procured for him. Whenever he gave a feast, in addition to what he cooked, I would put a special pail of food on the fire for him. When he ate it he was thankful.

"My son, what do you think I possess, that you are doing all this for me?" But I continued; and when I killed a medium-sized buck I made a feast in his honor, and all the clothing he needed, I gave him. Then I also gave him a costly repeating rifle, the one I used in hunting. All these things I offered him. Then I gave him an eagle, so that he could make a medicine pouch out of it. Money I also gave him, and gourds. Thus I acted, feasting him and offering him gifts all the time. I worked for him all the time.

One day he said to me, "My son, you have been treating me very well. Even my own brothers never treated me the way you have been doing. I thank you. All my relations hate you, but don't pay any attention to them. You are from a different family and I am teaching you various things (that belong to them), they say. They want me to stop instructing you. My father left the medicine dance for me to take care of. I am in complete control of it. Not one of these people, my kindred, has ever done anything for me in their lives. My ancestors said that you are my relative for what you have done. I can not teach my relatives the details of this ceremony, as I would have done had they acted correctly. My knowledge of this ceremony belongs to you, for you have paid for it. My remote

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

139 ancestors told their descendants, as it has passed down from mouth
● 756 to mouth to us, that whosoever pays careful attention to all that pertains to this ceremony, that whosoever has a good memory, he is the one to whom it should be taught. Thus they spoke.

"My son, you alone have been good to me," he said. "This ceremony you will learn. Our son, He-who-stands-on-a-cloud, and you have been kind to me. Both of you will live a long life. Never divide this ceremony in two. Never keep anything separate, but do, the two of you, counsel about everything. If one of you knows anything, tell it to the other. Two people are necessary to make the ceremony truly efficacious for either one. Never dislike one another.

"My younger brother, you are going to be a chief. No one else pays attention to this ceremony. You alone are doing it. If at any time I should leave your presence, when I am about to go I know that you, oh my son and brother, I will leave behind me, peacefully traveling along. Thus I will think as I am about to depart. Thus my ancestors told me."

Thus in trying to obtain information I made myself pitiable. I tried to be blessed. I performed all kinds of work. Even woman's work I did. Thus I kept myself in a pitiable condition, and for that reason my brother-in-law blessed me. He blessed me with the ceremony of his ancestors. He told it to no one else but to me; and if anyone else, at the present time, narrates the ceremony as told by our band, he is not telling you the truth. Up to the present time this ceremony was an Indian ceremony, and not a second time will I tell it to a member of the white race.

This ceremony molded me. I paid the most careful attention to it; I worshiped it in the best way I knew how. I was careful about everything in my life. I never drank. A holy life it was that I sought and most earnestly did I pray that I might live over again. That is what I yearned for. If I do everything that this ceremony enjoins upon me well, I will return to Earthmaker, they told me. This is what I wished. I was doing well as a medicine man and everyone loved me. This ceremony was made with love.

I knew all the songs. Indeed, the leader of the dance would make me sing the songs for him. As many medicine men as there were, they all liked me. I was not overbearing, but modestly did I comport myself right along. All the medicine men told me that I was doing very well, and they offered thanks in my behalf.

[113] 2. J. C.'s account of how he came to join the medicine dance: This is how it was. A grandmother of mine was the cause of it. She said that the Creator's son [2] was called the Hare; that he came on earth and brought life, she said. She said that whoever did this would live well, that their souls would always return to the place where the

[2] J. C. is a prominent member of the Peyote cult and, in common with other members of this cult, he has identified the Hare with Christ.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

Creator sits. The first thing that they did to me was this: They took me to a lodge at night; there they talked and sang. Then the second night the tobacco bundles were made; then the great old medicine men were given tobacco. After this came the four nights' preparation. Then came the great medicine dance. Then they went after those that were going to join, one at a time. They, the medicine men, were repeating what the Hare had done. When the Hare came on earth he performed certain actions, and that is what they were repeating now. Hare had visited the different spirits, it is said, looking for a means of life, it is said. The old medicine men possessed the good tidings that Hare had brought to this earth. That is what the people desired of Hare, it is said. 159 756

When they entered, the first person to whom tobacco had been given, i. e., the one first invited, entered first. Then the others followed in turn. Then he talked; then the one who initiated me expressed his thanks, saying, "You medicine men, this affair the Hare has given you, you are repeating in order to bless us. For that reason you have come. We ask you to give to this person whom we are about to initiate the life you have obtained for us. We ask that the newly initiated one travel along that road."

Then the first person spoke, and after that they all ate. When he was through they heated a stone. After that they all entered in regular order and I was asked to go in with them. Thus I entered the sweat-bath lodge. When I was inside they told me that the stone which they had heated was a spirit. "The life that he brought I should ask for," they told me. After that we went out again.

At night we entered again. Then at about 2 o'clock they took me out to the brush. Not until then was I to learn what the medicine men really did. When we got to the brush they made me sit down and the man who was initiating me turned me over to the others. He said, "I turn him over to you. Whatever the elders have taught you, that we desire you to tell him." When he finished the first one began to talk, saying, "It is good that you are such a person. Earthmaker must have willed it so. In the olden times if a person wanted to join the medicine lodge he could not do it until he was quite old." Then he continued preaching to me. When Earthmaker first came into the world and what happened after that, how he created all things: that he told me. He told me that Earthmaker created four worlds, in each of which he placed men and women; that the heavens we see represent the last man he created and the earth we are living on the last woman he created. Then he told how *Herecgunina* was created. The story is as follows: Earthmaker created man, whom he wished to put at the head of the world, but he did not make one of his legs quite right. Then he threw him down to the earth because when Earthmaker made anything wrong 159 756 881 868 [773]

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

159 he never did it over again. *Hereguninga* lived on earth from that
756 time on, and it is said that he also created things. Indeed, it is said
881 that he was almost the equal of the Earthmaker. He made the people
868 very miserable. Then Earthmaker sent four of his sons (to save the
773 people). Hare alone, of all the four, accomplished what he had been sent out for. All the rest failed. Hare obtained life for the people upon this earth.

Then the man told how the medicine lodge had been founded; how all the spirits upon the earth and all those under the earth and all those above the earth gathered together. They brought life with them. Then the medicine bags began to come. First came the eagle. He came from above. Next came the hawk, and then the squirrel, etc. The otter was the last one. Then the old man stopped talking to me and another person began to admonish me. He told me how I was to conduct myself. Then he spoke to me of the medicine-lodge road (i. e., of life) and what happens after life.

159 The first thing that I would meet on the road would be bad birds
756 making a lot of noise. "Do not look at them," he told me. They
868 would let fly at me bad-smelling saliva and phlegm, but I was not
776 to turn around, he said. Then the road would become thickly covered with thorn bushes. It would seem almost impossible to untangle them. I was, however, not to pay any attention to them, he told me. On the road, fires would send their sparks toward me, but I was to pay no attention to them. After a while I would lose one of my relatives, but I was to keep right on. I was not to get angry nor to give up, and after a while the road would become thickly covered with poplars growing on each side. Then the hair on my temples would become gray. This is what would happen to me, he told me, if I paid close attention to this ceremony. After a while it would become foggy (i. e., my eyesight would grow dim. Then I would come to a hill, one of four hills. When I came to the last hill there I would see red cedar trees. This is what would happen to me if I paid close attention to this ceremony, he told me. My soul would return to Earthmaker and I would then be allowed to come back to this earth if I wanted to.

159 Then they gave me the object with which they shot themselves
756 the shell. They shot me. After that they made me try to do it,
796 and when I was able to shoot well, we all came back. It was now
881 daylight. Now they put clothes on themselves and arose. Those who were initiating me then spread upon the ground the things which had been brought. Then the leader spoke. He told me that he would put me on the medicine-dance road. Then they sat me down there and shot me. Then the clothes that I had on were taken off and I was given other clothes. I was now told that I was standing on the medicine-dance road. After that they danced all day. In the evening they stopped. Now this is what I did; this is all I can say. I greet you, my friends.

2. Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

as follows, 'My soldier, I am offering you tobacco, for my people have been smitten with disease.' Then the latter rises and thanks him. He then informs all his clansmen and they give a feast. Then, of those participating, a number of males and females are selected, who on the next day, accompanied by the leader, go around the village four times. If a dog crosses their path, they kill it. After they have made the fourth circuit, they enter the village from the east end. They thereupon visit the sick individuals one after another, dance in their presence, and lay their hands upon them. After they have visited all the sick, they go to the chief's lodge, where a feast is spread for them by the chief's people. The next day all those who had been ill become well."

Here the Bear clan behaves at the same time like a ceremonial organization associated with shamanistic practices and like an individual shaman. That, to the minds of the Winnebago, this ceremonial function of the Bear clan on this occasion was regarded as a real ceremony is indicated by the term *many pe waci*. For the moment, the Bear clan as a social unit is entirely lost sight of. Nevertheless, it is the Bear clan as such a unit around which the ceremony has crystallized. This case is all the more instructive for the very reason that this ceremonial association does not form an inextricable element in the clan complex, but is merely an aspect that it assumes on certain occasions, to the exclusion of its socio-political nature. The ceremonial function of the clan is, therefore, not as firmly fixed as is the political function. This may merely be an expression of the fact that among the Winnebago it had become customary to associate ceremonial functions with religious societies.

With regard to the analogy with the individual shaman, it might be said that treating a social unit like an individual must have been quite common wherever the former was strongly marked off by specific functions such as the Bear clan. The association of the shamanistic function with this clan may have occurred just because of the police functions the clan already possessed. On the other hand, it might be pointed out that the bear, both black and grizzly, was intimately

2: Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1915
NP12 Winnebago NP12

associated with the treatment of disease and was the especial guardian spirit of the Indian doctors.

INFLUENCE OF THE CLAN UPON CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of Winnebago culture is the existence of two strong socialized units, that of the clan and that of the secret society. Historically both are old, and even if we are of the opinion that the clan is historically younger, the political unit upon which it is superimposed is probably an ultimate historical fact. From the earliest times one would have supposed reciprocal influences to have occurred repeatedly. The nature of these influences, insofar as they are not conditioned by chance, would depend on the respective centre of gravity in either unit. It is evident that for the clan the organization was of paramount importance, and that the addition of cultural associations probably tended to strengthen its stability from the point of view of organization. On the other hand, the absence of political or governmental functions in the religious societies, and the clustering of the most multitudinous religious and shamanistic ideas within them, rendered the emotional complex of the latter the centre from which influences would radiate. At the same time, the ceremonial unit of organization seems to have been so firmly fixed, that any influence of the clan unit of organization upon it does not seem likely. As a matter of fact, in the typical schematic, religious society, like the medicine dance, grizzly-bear dance, and night-spirit dance, no influence is perceptible. But these religious societies may be regarded as presenting no possible points of contact. Where, however, the bond of union is supernatural communication with a guardian spirit who subsequently became the clan animal, an obvious point of contact is given, and this brings to mind a very suggestive fact of Winnebago culture—there are, strictly speaking, no religious societies based on communication from a clan animal. There are, however, clan and clan-bundle (Winter) feasts which, in many respects are absolutely identical with the religious societies, and which furnish, it seems to us, an example

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

177 539 795

—Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

194 [Q12]

A	ae	ai	ao		k	ke	ki	ko	
w	we	wi	wo		a	e	i	o	
m	me	mi	mo		l	le	li	lo	
n	ne	ni	no		t	te	ti	to	(explosive)
l	le	li	lo	(ja)	tt	tte	tti	tto	(cha chay chi cho)
y	ye	yi	yo	(ga)					
r	reke	reki	roko	(ska ske ski sko)					
s	se	si	so						
h	he	hi	ho						
g	ge	gi	go						

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756

Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

---

"*Nochnenan kesekok apenn. Nas ta kat kes achpechtanechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored
kiwichiwon. Nas ta kat pimikat kitokemawin. Anamechtamon nas ta
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to
kat eskemakat tepa kesekok misik ios achkibe. Meneach
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us
iochpe as kesekok nepakinigenemenan achtanachkin kesegaton. Ponikutatawesch
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us
minin kais nachkebekaon asis ponikitatawakichton kais
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those
nachkibiamachtoa. Pon minin ishiaesch kakitzipanichtoane.
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.
Miahonamowesch ta mata. Amen.
Take it away from us. Amen."

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

brothers, though they were his elders. The two older brothers made up their minds to do away with Hagaga. They went into the forest together and drew an image of Hagaga on the ground, painting his heart with red earth. They were preparing to thrust a spear into the heart of the image and thus kill Hagaga but he was on the limb of a tree watching them and yelled at them as they were ready to strike—"Hey, what are you about to do?" They looked up, discovered him, and were so scared at their detection that they ran away without stabbing the figure. He followed them to Trempealeau Mountain where the spirits live.

This mountain is supposed by the Winnebago to be hollow and they think all the powers of the medicine lodge reside therein. In the center of this mountain, the medicine lodge is supposed to be laid out, with the cardinal points of the compass indicated by poles. The poles represent serpents and the tie pieces are serpents, because to the Winnebago medicine lodge members the serpent is sacred."

The various animal deities came into the center of the lodge. They were, in order of entrance, the otter, the loon, the crane, the turtle, the fox, and a number of others. Nowadays when the medicine lodge ceremony is in progress, the Indians make song imitations of these various animal spirits coming into the lodge. In the main, they agree with the conception of creation held by the Menomini." The writer related the Menomini story to Henry Dick, who said it was almost the same as the Winnebago. Their initiation ceremony starts at an earlier age which coincides with the age of puberty for both boys and girls and their medicine lodge ceremony requires more time than that of the Menomini; —four days for the lodge ceremony and two days for the testing of the initiate. While the ceremony is in progress, the candidate must not go to sleep. If he does, one of the members will shake him. The first two days and nights, the ceremony is mostly chanting and explanations, while the final two days and nights are given over to active floor work. The candidate must learn to do exactly as he is told and to obey instantly. The members, during the ceremony, tweak his ears and do various things to him in imitation of the animal deities. He is then shot with medicine bags to demonstrate their power. That is, the otter skin bag is grasped by the head between the fingers of the left hand of the medicine lodge member, and touched to his own lips; then having given it his power as a medicine man, he extends it toward the initiate, crying "Hui hui" and the initiate must drop his head immediately and fall over or backward. He is shot four times in the course of the ceremony.

On the fifth and sixth days, two or three of the older members take

[11]Fred Mallory's children killed a large puffing adder a day or two previous to the relating of this story and the local Winnebago did not like it, prophesying all sorts of dire disasters that would visit them.

[12]See Milw. Publ. Mus. Bull., Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 14, note 2.

4;Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

575 the candidate into the woods, where none will see them and put him
756 through tests, such as falling immediately when he is shot with a medi-
796 cine bag. They also teach him to sing the ritual of the medicine lodge, being sure that no one hears.

824 The Winnebago observe the same precautions in gathering plants and place as great stress upon the manner of this gathering as do other Wisconsin Indians.

126 Most of the summer was spent among the Winnebago collecting their various economic and medicinal plants, about which copious notes were taken. On August 16, a trip was made to a Winnebago religious
123 feast given by A. White and his son, Frank, with two other relatives,
551 at which the writer was given a Winnebago name. As is the Indian custom, no more than one Indian name can be given and a name in a second language must mean the same as the original one. It happens that the first name given the writer was by the Menomini at Keshena; namely *"Onawonik"* meaning "Flying Squirrel." Hence the Ojibwe followed suit with *"Shagashkandawe"* also meaning "Flying Squirrel," and the Winnebago took their word *"Kashingra"* meaning the same.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

Crashing Thunder

*159 755 [782] Once when I was sick he[1] treated me. As soon as he came my father arose with tobacco in his hands and made him an offering, greeting him as follows:

"My son-in-law, tobacco do I offer you and I make offerings to your spirits. You have made your hat ' become holy, for the various spirits made it sacred. I greet you."

*159 755 787 ●756 [776] Before treating me Thunder Cloud told of his fasting experience:

At the very beginning those above taught me the following. All the various spirits who live up above in the clouds, in a doctor's village, came after me and instructed me in what I was to do. They taught me and told me the following. "Here let us try it," they said to me. There in the middle of the lodge lay a rotten log, almost entirely covered with weeds. They tried to make me treat this log. I breathed upon it and all those who were in this spirit lodge also breathed upon it. Then for the second time I breathed upon it and they with me. Then for the third and the fourth time I did it. After the fourth time the rotten log arose and walked away. Then the spirits said to me, "Human being, very holy indeed are you."

There from the middle of the ocean, from the shaman's village, they came after me. They blessed me, all the spirits in the middle of the ocean. They made me try my power. As many waves as exist, all of them as large as the ocean, upon these they asked me to blow; and as I blew upon them everything became as quiet as the water in a small saucer. So they became. Then I blew for the

[795] ' Symbolical expression for the various objects and blessings bestowed upon him by the spirits.

1 [i.e., his brother-in-law Thunder Cloud who was a shaman--analyst]

third time and it was the same. The fourth time the spirits made the ocean very choppy and the waves were piled, one upon the other. Then they told me to blow again and show my power. I blew, and the ocean, mighty indeed as it was, became very quiet again. "Now this, human being, is what you will have to do," they said to me. "Not anything will there be that you cannot accomplish. Whatever be the illness a person may have, you will be able to cure him." 159* 755 787 756

All the spirits on the earth blessed me. "If any human being who is suffering from pain, makes an offering of tobacco to you, then whatever you demand, that we will do for you," the spirits told me. [782]

Now at Blue Clay Bank (St. Paul) there lives one who is a dancing grizzly-bear spirit. Whenever I am in great trouble I was to pour tobacco, as much as I thought necessary, and he would help me. This grizzly bear gave me songs and the power of beholding a holy thing; he gave me his claws, claws that are holy. Then the grizzly bear danced and performed while he danced. He tore his abdomen open and, making himself holy, healed himself again. This he repeated. One grizzly bear shot claws at the other and the wounded one became badly choked with blood. Then both made themselves holy again and cured themselves. They had a front paw disappear in the earth and after a while pulled out a prairie turnip. Finally they grabbed hold of a small plum tree, breathed upon it and shook it, and many plums began to fall. [776]

. . This was only the first part of the treatment. 159*

After recounting his fasting experience Thunder Cloud addressed the spirits and said, "Spirits, here is a person who is sick and who offers tobacco to me. I 755 782

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

You said that I could use all the best herbs that grow upon you, and that I would always be able to effect cures with them. I beseech you for those herbs now and I ask you to help me to cure this sick man.

159 * 755 182 216 218 [534]

Then Thunder Cloud breathed upon me and squirted some water on my chest. "What I have said is very true and very holy, I believe," he said. "Indeed now you will get well."

Thunder Cloud knew all the good medicines that exist and he used them in order to heal me and so that I might recover from my illness. I got well. Indeed Thunder Cloud was holy.

Thunder Cloud was also what we call a poisoner. He used to travel at dead of night, it was said. One night at about eleven o'clock he got ready to poison a family by the name of B. We were all listening, sitting in our lodge. Then outside we heard him make some noise. We were afraid of him because we knew he was a poisoner. Indeed he claimed to be in control of our household. My family would do nothing without first consulting him, for we were afraid of him. We believed that he had come from the spirits, that he was a reincarnated man and, if displeased, would poison us. So whatever he asked we did.

159 * 754

He had been married to my eldest sister and after her death wished to marry the second sister. Where he had come from at the dwelling-place of Earth-maker,[8] my elder sister was now staying, he said. But now he claimed that the second sister resembled the

159 * 756 ●

[8] Circumlocution for saying that she was dead.

[195]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

first. "She must be the one I left behind when I came from my spirit home," he thought. So up above, to Earthmaker's village, he went to see whether his first wife was still there. He found her there. "How is this? I thought I saw you among the human beings and that is why I have come to see if you were still here," he said. And the woman answering said, "Why, where was I to go? Here you left me when you went away and here I have remained up to the present time. What kind of woman is she who resembles me? Bring her up here to me." Thus my dead sister spoke.

However since he was a bad shaman, a poisoner, we let him marry the second sister. We were afraid that if we didn't he would poison us.

He told my brother that he had come from the place where Earthmaker* lives, that Earthmaker had told him that he was to bring back with him four men. He was to examine them carefully, for they were to be virtuous men, not quick tempered nor of changeable ideas, but really virtuous, men of conservative tendencies. Such was he to take back with him.

My brother loved Thunder Cloud for these reasons. Never did he show any disrespect to him. Whatever he was asked to do he did. Zealously and painstakingly did he perform all the actions demanded, for he hoped that if, in return, our brother-in-law loved him and blessed him, he would take him back to Earthmaker. Wholeheartedly did he wish to be like him. This was always in his mind and he served him to the best of

*Earthmaker is the supreme deity of the Winnebago.

ishes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

ease from out the body, people will greatly respect you. If then you happen to be without work, all that you need for your support they will give you. For as long a time as you live they will do this for you. After your death people will speak about your deeds for all time. During your lifetime they will say, "Yes, he really has power."

If you are not able to fast, do at least try to obtain some power from those individuals who know the virtues and powers of certain plants. It is sad enough, of course, if you will have to admit to yourself that you could not obtain blessings during fasting; but if you could not, at least try to have those who possess the plants I have mentioned, take pity on you. If they take pity on you, they will present you with one of the good plants that give life to man. Now it will not suffice for you to possess merely one plant. You should try to obtain all those plants that grow among the hairy covering of our grandmother, the Earth—all those that give us life—until you have a complete medicine bundle. Then will you truly have reason to feel encouraged.

Some of the medicine men, the shamans, were blessed by the waterspirits.[10] If you wish to obtain really powerful blessings and gain the power of curing many people, you will have to fast a long time and sincerely. If four, or say ten, of the truly powerful spirits bless you, then some day when you have children and anything happens to one of them, you will not have to look around for a medicine man, but all you will have to do will be to look into your own medicine bundle. Search there and you will undoubt-

[10] Waterspirits are mythical animals generally described as having the shape of a lynx or wild-cat and provided with long tails that completely encircle their bodies. Their gifts to man are ambivalent and it depends upon the man whether he cares to make good or bad medicines from their bodies. Their so-called "bones" generally consist of semi- or completely fossilized objects.

The Teachings of My Father

edly be able to find the medicines necessary for curing your children. Indeed after a while you will be called upon to cure your fellow men. Then you can open your medicine bundle without embarrassment, for you will have the knowledge necessary for treating the sick. You will know where the disease is lodged and your treatment will be successful, for it was only after the greatest efforts on your part that you succeeded in obtaining the requisite blessings. If you declare to the patient that he will live, then he will live. If you make proper offerings to the medicine and speak to your medicine in the proper manner, it will exert all the power it possesses to cure the patient. Now you must make good offerings to these medicines; you must give many feasts in their honor and then if, in addition, you address them as if they were human beings, they assuredly will help you and do what you ask. You may accordingly accept the payments offered to you by your patients in good conscience and your children will wear these payments in the form of wampum necklaces and thus gain renewed strength. They will be well and happy. These are the reasons why I want you to be extremely careful in your attitude. Medicines are good for all purposes; that is why they were given to us. Earthmaker gave them to us so that we could cure ourselves from disease.

Search there and you will undoubt- 159 * 756 ● 867 [782] [778] [773] [755]

If any one tries to obtain these staffs of life, these medicines and inflicts sufferings upon himself in acquiring them, then assuredly will our grandmother Earth have cognizance of it. She knows all that you have lost in obtaining them and in the long run what you have lost, will be returned to you. You made your offerings for the future and it is good for people to look forward to their future. [787] [577]

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you ooo

7: Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§12. *My Grandfather Adopts Me*

Once my father gave me away. Once on my return home I found my father talking to my grandfather and after a while I saw the old man weep. He had just lost a son, a young man and the last of his children. They had all died. It was this that they were talking about. I heard my grandfather say finally that he was tired of life. Then my father, weeping, called him by his relationship term and said: "I sympathize with you for you indeed speak the truth, yet in spite of it all I wish you to live. Here is my son, my own, and of all my children the one I love best. He is obedient. He is present here listening to me. He shall be your companion and as long as you live he will take you by the hand." Thus did he speak and the old man thanked him profusely.

After that I stayed with my grandfather. He thought a great deal of me and I got along very well in every way. He was a great man, one who doctored and who had great knowledge of medicine. This he used to give to the sick. He was also a great Medicine Dance man and an old soldier.

About this time a school was built at Tomah, Wisconsin, and I wanted very badly to go to it. My grandfather consented and I went there for a winter. In the

The Medicine Dance

seat in the main lodge stopped singing and the specially invited people entered the regular ceremonial lodge. 159* 096

The older people took charge of me for the whole night. Whenever they referred to me they would say, "In the morning when he-for-whom-we-desire-life becomes like us." They meant me and they meant that I would be a member in the morning. So I was extremely anxious for the morning to dawn. All night they danced. This part of the ceremony is called the rehearsal or trial performance.

The next morning, just before day, even while the dance was still going on, the leader of the first and second band, those of the east end and some others, took me to a secret place in the brush. When we got there we found a place where the ground had been cleared in the outline of the dance lodge. There the older people preached to me and told me that the most fearful things imaginable would happen if I made public any of the affair, *i.e.*, told the secrets of the Medicine Dance. The world would come to an end, they said. They told me that if I didn't keep everything secret I would die. [626]

It was in the brush that the leader told me of the road that all medicine men travel. [056]

The Road of Life

My son, as you travel along this road do not doubt it. If you do you'll be unhappy; you'll injure yourself. But if you do everything that I tell you well it will benefit you greatly. 159* 156 539

Crashing Thunder

#159
● 756
539

My son, the first thing you will come to as you travel along, will be a ravine extending to the very ends of the world on both sides. It will look as though it could not possibly be crossed. When you get there you will think to yourself, "Grandfather said that I was nevertheless to pass across." Plunge right through and you will get to the other side.

Now this ravine means that sometimes in life you will lose a child and thoughts of death will come to you. But if you pay attention to my teachings you will be able to go right on and find the road of the lodge on the other side. If you don't try to go beyond, if you get frightened and dwell upon your hardship too much, this will be your grave.

After you have crossed the ravine you will see the footsteps of the medicine men who have gone before you, marked very plainly in the road. Step into them and you will feel good. Then as you go along you will come to an impenetrable brushwood of stickers, thorns, and weeds. You will not see how you can possibly get around them. Then you will remember that your grandfather said that you would be able to penetrate them. This too, you will pass.

The impenetrable brushwood means death. Some one you have loved greatly, but not your wife, will die. You must try to get through this obstacle, not get frightened and not dwell upon your hardship too much. Otherwise this will be your grave.

As you pass along this road, evil little birds will continually din into your ears and will cast their excrement upon you. It will stick to your body. Now don't try to brush it off and don't pay any attention to it. If you pay attention to it you might forget yourself and brush it off and that is not right, and life is not obtainable in this manner.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

The Medicine Dance

The evil birds signify the following. The fact that you have joined the medicine lodge means that your intentions are to lead a good life. Now as soon as you join, the work of evil tattlers will begin and they will say that you have done things contrary to the teachings of the lodge. Perhaps a piece of bird's excrement will fall on you. What of it? Don't brush it off without thought. Some will claim that you had said that the lodge was no good. Yet even then you must not blurt out, "Who said that?" and get angry. Keep quiet and hold your peace.

As you go along you will come to a great fire encircling the earth and practically impossible to cross. It will be so near that it will scorch you. Remember then that your grandfather had said that you would be able to pass it. Plunge through it. Soon you will find yourself on the other side and nothing will have happened to you.

Now this great fire means death. Your wife will die. Go through this as well as you can; don't get discouraged. This fire will be the worst thing you have to go through. You will have been living happily and then without warning your wife will die. There you will be with your children. Remember, however, what your grandfather said and plunge straight through. On the other side you will find the footprints of the medicine men.

After a while you will come to tremendous perpendicular bluffs which hardly seem passable. Think, however, of what your grandfather said and soon you will find yourself on the other side quite safe.

Now these bluffs mean death. As you travel along the road of life you will find yourself alone. All your relatives, all your loved ones, are dead. You yourself will begin to think to yourself, "Why, after all, am I living?" You will want to die. Now this, my grandson, is the place

7:Radin E-5 (ca.1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 where most encouragement is given for it is most necessary.
●756 This is the most difficult of all the places you will come to.
539 Keep in the footprints of the Medicine Dance-man and you will be safe. The teachings of the lodge are the only road; they alone will enable you to pass this point safely.

Soon you will come to a hill and when you reach the foot of the hill you will sit down to rest and eat. You will eat dried ribs of bear meat mixed with spirit-food and this spirit-food will vibrate with life. When you are finished you must climb to the top of the hill and look behind you. There will be no one. But in front of you, you will see many people.

Now this hill means that you have reached that period of life where, because you have always done things correctly, you will be continually partaking of feasts. You will always be invited. The road full of people in front of you represents the members of the lodge who have passed before you. There is no one behind you because you are just beginning to enter on that road.

Soon you will come to another hill. It will look like a nice country full of red stone. There you will find food and you will eat out of a very greasy kettle. When you're finished, climb to the top of the hill and you'll see that some people are now following you and that the number in front will be smaller.

You'll be traveling through better country now, i.e., you'll be taken better care of.

Then as you go along, another hill will loom in sight. You must go toward it and there you will find yourself in a country of red willows and bulrushes. Many presents will you find scattered all along this most pleasing of lands. There you will find your food and when you have partaken of it, ascend as far as the middle of the hill. There as you

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

rest you will see a reddish haze across the land. Then go to the top of the hill. As you look behind you will see many people following you and only a few in front.

Halfway up the hill, we have said, the land will be covered with a red haze. This is the Indian summer and this means that you will now have reached that period in life where your eyes have become dim. The red willows, etc., signify that your hair has become grizzled. The men in front of you are the older members of the lodge who will assist you by inviting you to the lodge and those in back of you are the younger members who will give you feasts in order to obtain increased knowledge.

Then finally you will come to a fourth hill. This will be a very beautiful country with white poplars everywhere. There, after having eaten at the foot of this hill, you'll climb it and look around. You will see not one ahead of you and very many people following. The place from which you had started, apparently a long time ago, will seem very near. You will have to rest four times before you get to the top of this hill.

This means that when you get to the fourth hill, you will be so feeble that you will have to rest four times before you succeed in getting to the top. The fact that you see no one in front of you on the road means that you have now become the oldest member of the lodge.

As you walk along you'll come to an oval lodge. There you will find a man who will ask you, "Grandson, how have you acted in life?" You must answer, "I don't know." He will answer and say, "Grandson, I know. Take some food." You'll find four dishes and you must take a spoonful of each. When you have swallowed the fourth spoonful your body will be like that of a dog or a flea, i.e., you will be so old that your body will not only be flat but your ribs will

* 159 ● 756 539 be caved in. The man talking to you will be the one in charge of the medicine-lodge road. You will now become unconscious but not for a long time, i.e., although you will die, you'll go right on in the spirit. Near you, you will find the medicine man's staffs or ladders. The ladders reach to heaven. On the right side you will find a tree, all twisted and slippery from incessant rubbing. On the left you will see a red cedar tree, all smoothed down from wear and dirty from incessant handling. You must grab these trees, and then when you have ascended them you'll come to a country situated right below the place where Earthmaker lives. This country has been especially provided for those who have adhered to the ritual of the Medicine Dance. You will be told that this is your home and, after a while you'll be directed to a long lodge where you will find all those of your relatives who have adhered to the teachings of the lodge. Although you are a grown-up person you will nevertheless be taken on each one's lap in turn. This country is a very happy one to live in. No one is ever in want; no bad clouds float over it; there is no night and there is no work.

After a while the attendants of Earthmaker will come to you and take you to him. There you'll see him face to face. He will tell you that you have done well and that you can become reincarnated in whatever tribe you desire. Those that perform the ritual properly believe that they can come to the world again after death.

[715]

* 159 756 796 After the old man had finished telling about the road of the Medicine Dance Lodge I was shown how to fall down and lie quivering on the ground and how to appear dead. I was very much disappointed for I had

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

had a far more exalted idea of the shooting. "Why, it amounts to nothing," I thought. "I have been deceived. They only do this to make money." I also thought then that many of the sacred things about which they had spoken to me were not true either. However I kept on and did as I was told for I had been taught to deceive in the ceremony in the brush. As soon as I was proficient in the act of feigning death, we started back to the main lodge.

The older people told me that I would become like them in body as soon as I became a member of the lodge, but I did not experience any change within me. All that I felt was that I had become a deceiver in one of Earthmaker's creations.

During the day, at the regular meeting, I did as I had been taught. Many speeches and many songs were sung and then, at about ten o'clock, the leader of the north band arose and told the story of the origin of the world and of the Medicine Dance.

The Story of the Origin of the World

What it was our father sat on when he came to consciousness we do not know. His tears flowed and he began to cry. Not long was he sunk in thought. He saw nothing and nothing was there anywhere. He took something from the thing on which he was lying and out of it made a portion of our earth. This he sent to the space below him and from where he lay he could see that what he had created had become similar in shape to our earth. Yet nothing grew upon it and it was entirely without a cover-

The Medicine Dance

"Well, grandmother, this is what I meant when I said that you were to help me. My uncles and aunts have now received all that I desired for them. I thank you." 539 776

Now throughout the ceremony I felt all the time that we were merely deceiving the spectators. When it was all over the members of my band told me that in two years I would be able to imitate the sounds of animals to my heart's content for I had taken the place of a great medicine man. Those who have the privilege of dancing obtain it by making gifts to the older members and thus buying the right. Those who do not buy this right or are not given permission to use it, are not allowed to dance. It is the same way with the shooting. Unless, for instance, a man buys the right, he is not allowed to extend his arms at full length when he shoots, but he must hold them close to his breast. The right to drum as well as the right to shake the gourd rattles, all these things must be bought. In fact, almost everything must be bought. I was told, however, that I would not have to go through all this training but would become a great medicine man immediately. That pleased me. I was given a gray squirrel-skin to use as a medicine pouch and I was told that it was really alive and that I had the power to make it cry aloud. I had seen people doing this and I had always envied them. This was another of the things I was anxious to do. Indeed I wondered greatly how it could be done. 159* 156 796 [424]

When the dance was over my father went away and left me at that place alone. He left me at the home of the deceased person's wife. I did not go back to 159*

Crashing Thunder

*159 school but, instead, stayed near the old woman and did various jobs for her. There I stayed all spring.

*159 I had been told that if a person initiated into the
● 756 Medicine Dance did not regard the affair as sacred this
761 was a sign that he would die soon. This frightened
796 me a good deal for I had been thinking of the whole matter in a very light-hearted fashion and I now felt that this was an indication that I would soon die. I did my best therefore to consider it a sacred ceremony. In spite of all this, however, I did not succeed.

*159 About this time I left for Tomah. It was about the middle of the summer. I stayed and lived with my
[869] grandfather and from that time on was taught by him many of the details of the Medicine Dance. For instance, when I prepared a sweat-bath for him he would teach me some of the songs. I accordingly prepared the bath for him frequently. He would always be grateful and that is another of the reasons why I was glad to do it. Before long I had learned all the songs he knew so that when I was invited to a Medicine Dance I would do all the singing and he would only do the talking. From that time on I said that it was a sacred affair, and from then on I participated in the ceremony for the greatness inhering in it. I boasted
[156] of its greatness in the presence of women, in order to make a good impression upon them.

[P. 126]

796
575
[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the purpose, in which all those allowed to witness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical form as a steam house. They excavate a hole in the ground, heat large stones in a fire to a great heat, and then put them in this hole, and cover them over and seat the initiate over them. He is then covered around with blankets so that none of the steam may escape, after which water is poured on the stones and the neophyte is
[783] enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[776] the first act, and the object is to steam all evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the steaming process in some instances has been repeated once or twice. He is then blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the rattles, and commence singing a tune; then commences the dance, which is joined in by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
[562] en are members of the medicine lodge as well as the men, and they join in the songs and in the dance. After the dancing is done, or perhaps he may have stood in the midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men then advance towards the neophyte, pointing their medicine bags at him, then drawing them back. This advancing and receding and ejaculating certain words calculated to work up the mind of the novitiate into a regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit their medicine bags against his body, he still being blindfolded and at the same time uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on his face as if dead and that apparently with-

796 575 158 out design. There he lay without motion or sign of life, and the dance was resumed around them. After a time he was brought out of this mesmeric or clairvoyant state, a medicine bag was put in his hands and he at once had power to strike any one down as he had been. The person who stayed by the Judge was thus struck down. He felt of his arm and wrist and found them perfectly rigid.

796 575 789 They told the Judge before they admitted him to this ceremony that while he was there he must think no evil thought. If he did, his life would be in danger from the spirits. No impure person is admitted to witness these ceremonies, no woman in the menstrual period, no woman pregnant or recently delivered, no intoxicated or intemperate person that is under the influence of liquor is allowed to attend. The proceedings in the sweat lodge were not seen by him as none but medicine men were allowed there.

[841] [843] [273] [756]

796 575 The ceremonies commenced at 8 in the evening and lasted until day break next morning. The Judge confirms my former opinion that this is purely a religious rite, and a religious organization, having but little to do with the uses of medicine proper. The roots and herbs are one thing, but the ceremonies and incantations which are the real remedies are quite another. They call it the Spirit Dance, or the Divine Dance. The Judge informs me that he has witnessed the same thing among the Sauks and Foxes.

[755] [171]

[*Winnebago Burial*]

764 He also mentioned the fact that he witnessed the burial of a Winnebago some years ago. He was set upon a natural mound and house made over him, food and some personal articles laid by his side, after which the whole was covered over with earth, except a small hole or chimney was kept open from the top down into the house. When

[775]

796 says there is no sham about this falling down
575 of the person on the floor in a swoon in the
828 manner described. That this is the precise
158 shock of the system to produce which the fasting and the steaming process is resorted to, and all the other ceremonies of the initiation, including the dance.

755 When a person is sick and incurable by
158 the simple remedies known to the Indians, and the friends become apprehensive for the life of the person, then the medicine men are called in and they go through certain ceremonies, all of which operate upon the nervous system already enfeebled and excited by disease, and tend to bring about that shock or prostration of the nervous system, which when produced is supposed also to relax the hold and power of the disease at the same time. In a word it kills the disease, or breaks the disease, or destroys
[753] the evil spirit then in the body which causes the disease, and then if there is constitutional strength enough left to raise up the body from its utter prostration, the patient recovers.

753 It would seem that they regarded the
755 nervous system or the sensitive part of our
828 nature as the seat of the disease, and addressed their remedies to the sensitive part, that is to the mind rather than to the body, to the spirit rather than to the organs of the
[171] body. The medicine system prevails very generally among our Indian races. In fact it is universal so far as we have found out the customs of the remote tribes.

755 I asked Walker about the cheats prac-
● 756 ticed by the medicine men upon the credulity of their patients, that is, pretending to take out of a man's back a tooth or a bone. He says that in their practice they want to make money, and the greater the feat they perform the greater the charge they make. Sometimes they charge a horse etc.

[P 61 (B)]
[pp 62-209 not processed]